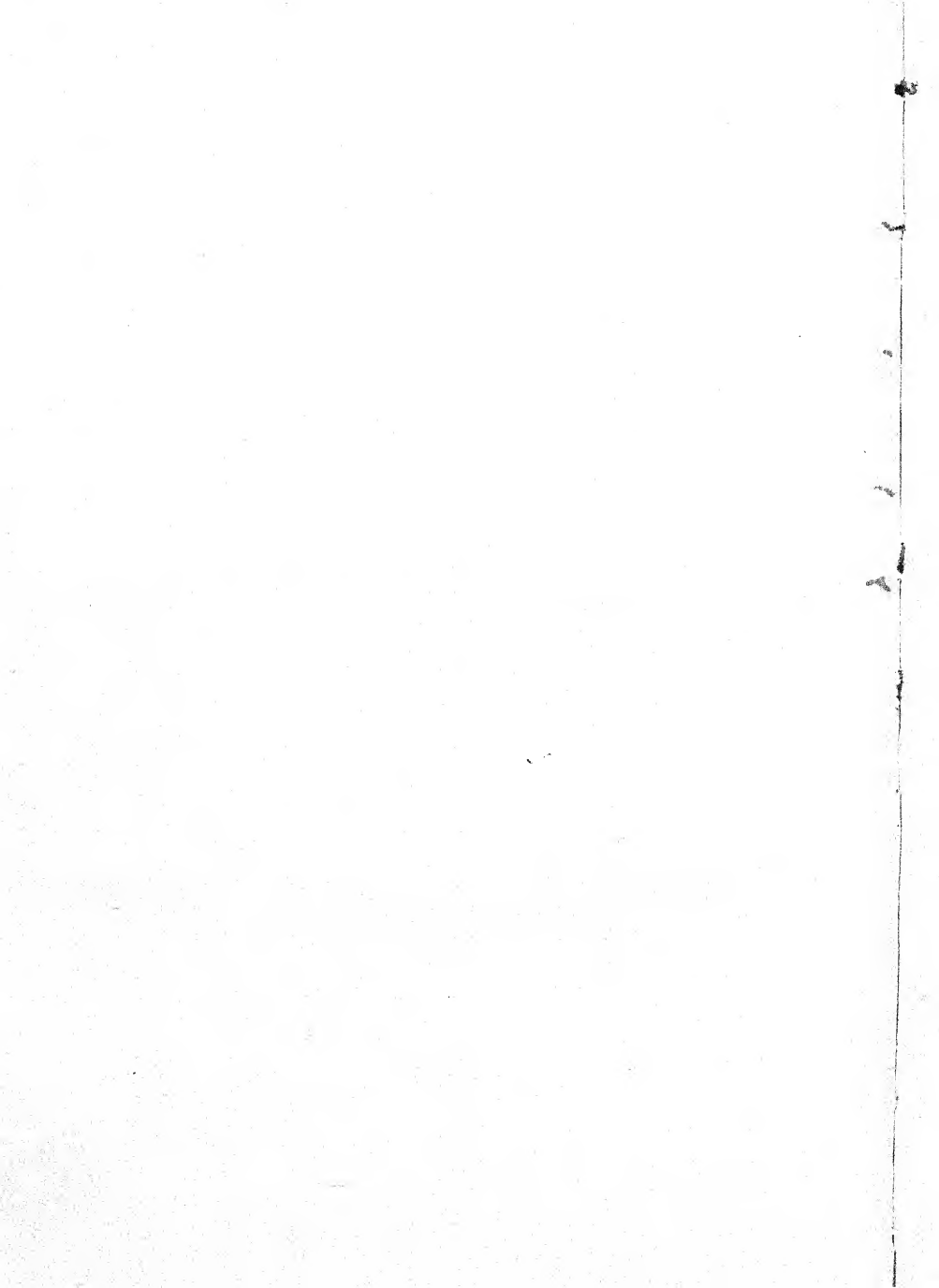# DEVELOPING SMALL AND MEDIUM TOWNS

DEVELOPING SMALL AND MEDIUM TOWNS

An Evaluation of Administrative Machinery in a Medium-sized Town

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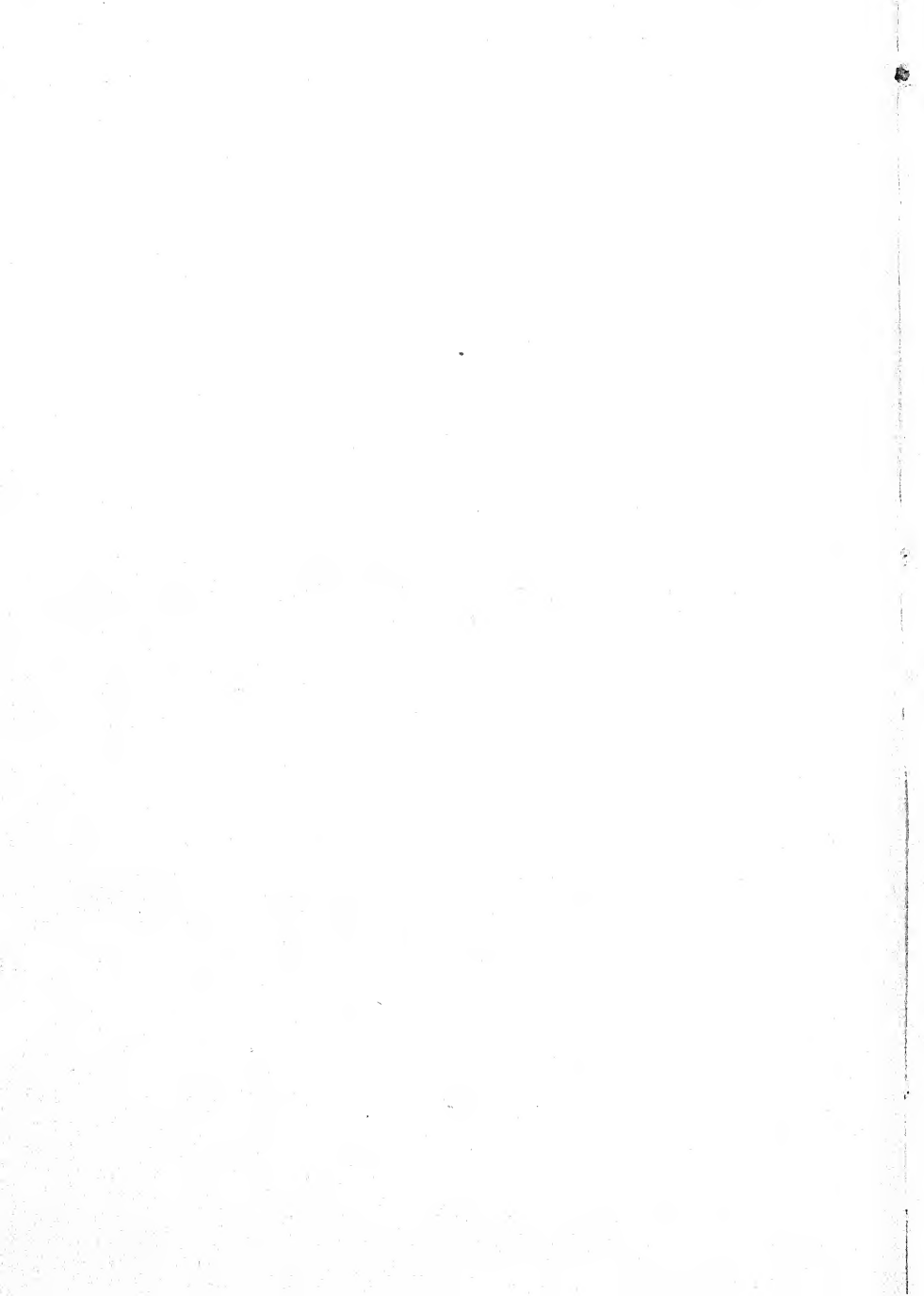*1985*

"In matters of administration, do not suppose things are going right till it is proved they are going wrong, but rather suppose they are going wrong till it is proved they are going right."
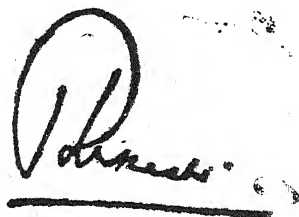
HERBERT SPENCER

FOREWORD

There has been, in recent years, a growing interest in the development of small and medium towns (as against the big cities), particularly in several developing countries, including socialist China. In India this realization came with the beginning of the Sixth Plan period (1980-85) when the national planners decided to take the population load off the large cities through planned growth of the smaller cities. This approach took the shape of what has now come to be known as the 'Integrated Development as Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT Scheme).

About 235 towns in the country today are being currently developed in a variety of ways under the IDSMT Scheme. But, two serious afflictions often tend to block or slow down the progress of such schemes, *viz.*, the limit of financial resources, and organizational inadequacies. Here is a Study which illustrates the latter problem in a medium-sized town (Karnal) of a northern State (Haryana) in India; it attempts to highlight those aspects of the administrative machinery which appear to have impeded its effectiveness in the execution of the IDSMT Scheme in that town.

Perhaps the most significant thing about this Study is the way it outgrew its original intention: that is, while it makes an analytical reporting of the administrative system and its dysfunctionalities in an IDSMT town, it also provokes—as it goes along—the practical administrator into thinking in terms of the mechanics and dynamics of the 'organizational world', an area in which, I am afraid, a typical urban planner/administrator in India is not well versed. I believe it is time that he should acquire some knowledge in this field. This Study would provide him the information and knowledge to understand his own organization as also to change it.

The state of affairs in the 200-plus IDSMT towns in the country cannot be known unless they are researched into. Raj

Nandy's Study at Karnal is the first of its kind in this direction and draws attention to organizational deficiencies in the implementation of this very important programme.

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NEW DELHI
JULY 8, 1985

PREFACE

I began gathering data and conducting interviews for this Study in June, 1983; that took about six months. Copies of the final report, in mimeographed form, were in readiness by January, 1984—about two weeks ahead of the commencement of the training programme that launched the Study.

Of the eight chapters in this book, six sum up the research done at Karnal/Chandigarh and were written soon after the field work was completed. Chapter 1, entitled 'Organizational Analysis', was however added in April, 1985, when the Institute decided to publish the Study. This chapter is built around two major needs: (*a*) to provide theoretical framework for the numerous organizational issues raised in the research report; and (*b*) to answer a question that had often tickled me as a teacher at the Institute: Why did most government officials in India continue to operate their traditionally-structured systems as handed down to them by their predecessors, and how to make them management-minded so that they could analyze their organizations on their own and learn to redesign them to cope with the changed situations (say, the one enforced by the IDSMT Scheme)? The answer that came to me in the classroom and in conversations with the trainees over a cup of tea was that their general awareness about the complex world of 'organization' was rather low and that if they have to be helped to make a meaningful contribution towards organizational effectiveness, the key is to enlarge their awareness. It is to these two objectives this chapter is addressed to.

Chapter 8 (Monograph on Karnal Municipal Committee) has been attempted to bring the description of the 'local administrative machinery' to completion—though it may be noted that the municipality is not a partner in the IDSMT Scheme at Karnal, in its planning or in implementation. Besides, I did not think that the municipality could be ignored

because, by virtue of its status as the 'local body', it shall always have something to do in any scheme of things aimed at development of the town—'integrated' or otherwise.

Understanding organizations and changing them is a challenging assignment. It is my sincere hope that the sumtotal of the contents of this book would provide government officials the necessary knowledge for systematic thinking about them and they would, then, try to 'live' it in practice so as to bring about the much-needed changes in government machinery.

During the study-period I talked to a number of other officials as well who were involved in one or more facets of the IDSMT Scheme at Karnal. My interviewees also included a number of slum-dwellers at Karnal, a few shop-keepers, and some residents in Sector 13 (the first urban estate developed by HUDA at Karnal). Their comments were very useful to me in obtaining a reasonably complete picture of the town and their understanding of its 'integrated development'. My

However, I alone am responsible for the compilation and interpretation of data pertaining to this Study. I have tried my best to comprehend the 'reality' as objectively as humanly possible but I am well aware, at the same time, that organizations are extremely complex entities and, therefore, a researcher's observations can sometimes go awry. So long as research into organizations has to continue to enable 'them' to look at themselves through the eyes of outside observers, perhaps there is no escape from this limitation.

Finally, a word of warm appreciation to all those men and women in the slum areas of Karnal who aided this Study in their own way. I can only hope that this Study would stimulate the authorities into some kind of a positive action aimed at bringing about a reasonable change into living environment of this sizable 'human resource' at Karnal.

MAY 7, 1985   RAJ NANDY
NEW DELHI

LIST OF ACRONYMS USED IN THE BOOK

IDSMT	—	Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns Scheme
CUS	—	Centre for Urban Studies
IIPA	—	Indian Institute of Publie Administration
HUDA	—	Haryana Urban Development Authority
DTP	—	District Town Planner
ATP	—	Assistant Town Planner
STP	—	Senior Town Planner
CTP	—	Chief Town Planner
NDRI	—	National Dairy Research Institute
SRRS	—	Sugarcane Regional Research Station
CSSRI	—	Central Soil Salinity Research Institute
FIR	—	First Information Report
B&R	—	Buildings and Roads
PHE	—	Public Health Engineering
LIC	—	Life Insurance Corporation of India

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APPENDICES

1 ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS

With the emergence of the welfare/socialist state in the 20th century, the government is expected to handle many more tasks than it used to do earlier. That its agencies control or influence the day-to-day living conditions of the ordinary citizen from 'cradle' to 'grave' is a common fact of life. Thus viewed, a government organisation has come to play a very crucial role in the contemporary society. Indeed, it is not only one of the most visible phenomenon but also comes in different forms, shapes and sizes.

It is also a truism that if a typical government agency, like its private counterpart, comprises internally a system of interconnected parts (units, divisions), externally it becomes a sub-system of the larger system (society)—each caught up in a web of input-output relationships with the other organizations, on the one hand, and the society, on the other. There is, to put it differently, a mutuality of interests between the society and the government organization—be it a public sector undertaking, railways, police, or a local body. If the society provides funds for their continued existence, the responsibility of the organization is to supply, in return, goods and services in an efficient and economical manner.

An unpleasant truth about the governmental agencies in a country like India, however, is that while those which are fulfilling their reciprocal social responsibilities are numbered few and can be easily spotted, the rest of the scenario is filled with examples of 'poor performers'. If this observation were not correct, the new Prime Minister of India would not have felt obliged to accord high priority to reforms in the administrative system of the country (as also upgrade the status of the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms in the governmental system) soon after he took over the charge. In his address to the nation on January 4, 1985,

he said:

> Administrative reform is crucial for social and economic transformation. It is for this reason that I decided to take under my own charge the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms. A full scale review of administrative organisation, policies and procedures is in progress.[1]

A few weeks later, he went on to repeat his message with greater vigour in a two-day conference of the Chief Secretaries to all the state governments, especially convened to discuss methods for revamping the administrative apparatus all over the country.[2]

It would therefore seem imperative that the senior and middle-level administrators in all public agencies in India focus their attention on the *what* and *why* of all the organisational ills of their respective units or agencies and try to understand the various factors (internal and external) that shape and effect them.

It is here that a process like 'organizational analysis' enters the picture.

Indeed, if the governmental system is to be saved from further stagnation or deterioration, there is an urgent need for administrators to acquire a realistic understanding of this process. Without this understanding, their perceptions of organizational ills and their causes would continue to remain distorted and their units tend to drift rather than pursue socially-assigned goals. As Engels made the enlightening observation:

> Active social forces work exactly like natural forces: blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with them. But, when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject

[1]For full text see The *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, January 5, 1985, p. 7.

[2]As reported in The *Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, February 5, 1985, p. 1.

them, more and more, to our own will and by means of
them to reach our own ends. And this holds especially
of the mighty productive forces of today.[3]

ADVANCING KNOWLEDGE—NEED FOR SELF-RENEWAL

Government officials are a mixed lot. There are the gene-
ralist administrators and there are also the professionals
who studied engineering, urban planning, medicine, law and
so on. The intellectual awareness of a vast majority of
them about the administrative machines they operate can,
at best, be termed as sketchy, particularly in modern times
when the knowledge about the massive formal organisations
(which most government agencies are) is increasing at such
a rapid pace that even full-time academics are finding it
hard to keep abreast of all the latest developments in their
respective fields. While the race is still on and the research
scholars and practitioners all over the world continue to
produce new ideas/insights about this extremely complicated
world, called 'organisations', the existing gap is likely to
widen further with the passage of time. A corollary of this
development is that as this body of knowledge grows, a part
of it, in that process, gets highly refined, sophisticated and
comes to acquire terms/jargons which are not easily intelligi-
ble to the average administrators. Think of, for example,
terms like, 'placid, randomized', 'placid, clustered'; 'disturb-
ed, reactive'; and 'turbulent, fields' that figure in the literature
with reference to the quality of 'environment' surrounding
organisations of modern times.[4] Not that these concepts are
not vaild or relevant in our understanding of organizations,
but it is my hunch that the typical government officials in
India—particularly those operating in small and medium
towns—might find such language rather obscure and taxing
and, therefore, there is always the chance of his turning
away from this essential knowledge for all time to come. A

[3]Engels, Frederick, *Anti-Duhring*, Progressive Publishers, Moscow,
1977, p. 339.
[4]Emery, F.E. and Trist, E.L., "The Causal Features of Organizational
Environments", *Human Relations*, February, 1965, p. 21.

writer has offered the thoughtful advice: A *sophisticated analysis* which confused the average administrator is worse than an *elementary analysis* which promotes an easy understanding of organization design, change and development.

The short, simple description of the model that follows here is of the 'elementary' type and is aimed at the harried local/state level administrator who has little time to make detailed studies of the literature but still aspires to be an analyst/planner or a change-agent of his own organisation.

EARLY APPROACHES

Lest the unfamiliarity of some readers about the ideas of the early thinkers on modern organization should act as a barrier to understanding what follows hereafter, it is only fair that before moving further, we, first, take cognizance of these early approaches to organizational design and analysis.

Two schools of thought dominated management thinking and practice for designing/analyzing organizations during the first few decades of the present century (incidentally, also the beginning of a systematic body of knowledge about the modern organization). These are:

1. The Structural/Scientific Management* Approach (or

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*Scientific Management, Administrative Theory, and Bureaucratic Model—are the three streams of the same body of management thought, collectively known as the "Classical/Traditional Theory" in management literature. Interestingly, all the three were developed at about the same time (turn of the 20th century) by separate group of people, working almost independently of each other. The three streams are founded on similar assumptions and are so closely-related that these can be treated and analyzed 'as one'. See Taylor, F.W., *The Principles of Scientific Management*, New York, 1911; Fayol, Henri, "General and Industrial Management.... trans. from the French ed., by Constance, Storrs with a foreword by L. Urwick, Pitman, London, 1955; and, Weber, Max, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, Henderson, A.M. and Parsons, Talcott (trans.) and Talocott, Parsons (ed.), The Free Press, New York, 1947.

The word that seems to say the most about all of them is: 'structure'—the structure of a formal organization. Hence, the name—'Structural Approach'

the Machine Model); and

2. The Behavioural Approach.

STRUCTURAL APPROACH

Some of the basic characteristics of a machine are: (*a*) it has a purpose to achieve, (*b*) it needs energy inputs which it transforms through its work processes into productive outputs, (*c*) it has separate parts which are so designed and fitted together as to make a whole and attain the purpose of the machine, and (*d*) if any part goes wrong, it is either repaired or removed and replaced by a new one.[5]

Almost a similar conception of designing an organization was developed in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. This was the product of actual managerial experience of several private business executives in the West—the most prominent being Frederick W. Taylor, Henry Gnatt, Frank and Lillian Gilbreth, and others. Adherents of this approach believed that it was possible to scientifically analyse any job, devise "one best way of doing it", select a worker best suited for it and, finally train him (the part) to fit the task (the administrative machine). In other words, once the "shape of the hole" (job) was defined, the problem was only of finding the right 'peg' (worker) to fit into it. The primary objective was to standardise and then direct human behaviour to fit it to a given requirement within the organization in order to maximize output with minimum inputs.

The responsibility to plan, organize and control work was considered to be the exclusive authority of the managers and workers were expected to do what they were told to do.

This was, plain and simple,—as the critics of this approach argue—an "engineering approach" * to the design of organizations, viewing workers as nothing but adjuncts to the (administrative) machine.

[5]Spiers, Maurice, *Techniques and Public Administration*: *A Contextual Evaluation*, Fontana/Collins, 1975, pp. 176-7.

*It has been said that "most of the early American writers in the field of organization were engineers who tended, consciously or unconsciously, to look at people in an enterprise as inanimate, just as they looked at machines and equipment".

Its 'mechanistic' conception was clear from yet another assumption underlying it: The environmental forces—external or internal—had no influence on the working of the organization. It therefore took a 'closed system' view of the organization.

Certain 'universal' principles of organization were also developed by this School: The pyramidal form, task specialization, unity of command, span of control, chain of command. These, it was claimed, were approapriate for all organizations.

According to this approach, 'structure' of an organization stood above all other attributes of a good organization because it was the structure that gave stability, and continuity to organizations—irrespective of the 'people' who come and go. It also assumed that a worker was primarily motivated by economic gains.

In spite of all the criticism directed against it, the fact remains that some of the concepts of this approach are still used as tools for designing organizations all over the world.

BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH

This approach, based upon the doctrine of 'human relations',[6] was blitzkrieged by certain 'controlled experiments', carried out by a group of psychologists, sociologists, engineers and others at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company in the United States between 1924-32. The studies came as a reaction to the built-in deficiencies of the 'scientific' approach of the structuralists which largely rested on a rigid system of compelling workers to comply with organizational requirements or quit. Labour productivity did go up during the first couple of decades of the century but, eventually, the Structural approach found itself at a dead-end. The great Depression of the 1930s further exposed the weaknesses of the system. There was a great deal of alienation, apathy and hostility amongst the workers. The establishment of a workers' State in the Soviet Union

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[6]Rothlisberger and Dickson, W.J., *Management and the Worker*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1939.

under the leadership of Lenin also gave new hopes to the working class in Western Europe.

The Hawthorne experiment drew the attention of the managements to several new concepts based upon its findings: (1) The organization is not only a 'technical-economic system' but a 'social system' also; (2) The worker is not merely motivated by money; his motivation is affected by diverse social and psychological factors as well; (3) Managers need to acquire 'social skills' in addition to their technical skills; and (4) the worker is a member of an informal work-group which has significant affect on his behaviour.

The researchers emphasised 'democratic' leadership patterns and underscored the need for 'participative management'.

The early exponents of the Behavioural approach are Mary Parker Follet, Elton Mayo, Fritz Roethlisberger, Chester Barnard, and Herbert A. Simon.

The human relations approach, advocated by this school of thought, too, saw its hey-day but its impact on managements gradually began to wear off.

Its principal discovery was the operation of 'informal organizations' running parallel to the 'formal' one. It concluded, therefore, that it was wrong to assume (as the 'structural' approach did) that the effective functioning of an organization was always and fully determined by its 'formal structure'.

The Marxian writers[7] on management, however, reject these declarations about 'human relations' and 'democracy' within Western organizations as 'highflow rhetoric', because in their view these Western prescriptions do not take into account the "class essence of relations" of the businessman/ industrialist, the researchers and the workers within a capitalist economy (we would do well to remember here that a very large proportion of research in the field of management has taken place in private business setting in the United States and other Western countries—or, in other words, in economies based on the concept of 'private profit').

[7]Stolyarenko, A., *The Psychology of Management of Labour Collectives,* Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1983, pp. 18-20.

'ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS'—MEANING AND A
SUGGESTED FRAME OF REFERENCE

Spelling out the meaning of the term 'Organizational analysis', Armstrong writes:

Organizational analysis is the process of defining aims, objectives, activities and structures of an organization in the light of a study of its external and internal environment/circumstances.[8]

The aim is to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the organization so as to help an organizational planner/administrator to learn how to identify the various components or dimensions that go to make an organization best suited to achieve the objectives for which it has been set up.

What does this definition boil down to? It can be said to suggest the following three principal characteristics which can serve as a framework for analyzing an organization for purposes of, say, trouble—shooting or improving effectiveness: (1) *Overall objectivities/activities of an organization,* (2) *Environment,* and (3) *Structure.*

Considerable homogeneity exists between this approach and the one offered by Charles Perrow—a respected name in the field—who also emphasizes these three concepts in the analysis of organizations. Drawing upon his own researches as well as of others, however, he goes on to add one more dimension, namely, *Technology,* to the above listing.

Perrow emphasizes that for any organization the problem is to maintain harmony and balance amongst all of these four components. He concludes:

. . . This is what good management or good leadership is all about.[9]

Since 'people' constitute the principle productive force of

[8]Armstrong, Michael, *A Handbook of Personnel Management Practice,* Kagan Paul, London, 1977, p. 32; the author also delineates ten 'essential' steps for undertaking analysis of organizations.

[9]Charles, Perrow, *Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View,* Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., Belmont, California, 1974, p. 174.

organizations and the operation of 'informal groups' within the framework of formal organizations has been recognized as a unit of analysis in organization theory, it is suggested that in order to complete our construct for purposes of organizational analysis, we may add yet another constitutent, namely, the 'Psychosocial' milieu. An understanding of this component, and its relationship with others, would greatly facilitate and enhance the value of such analysis. We may define the 'psychosocial' climate as comprising the interpersonal and sociological relations within the organization, the values/attitudes of top management, and their impact on the behaviour and motivation of the employees. Apart from these, there are other variables also which are part of this 'climate'; however, only important ones have been dealt with here.

The formulation, outlined above, gives us the approximation of a model for organizational analysis. As the reader works through this chapter, he would notice that the model proposed combines the virtues of the 'structural' as well as the 'behavioural' approach to organizational analysis: that is to say, it is not 'uni-directional' in its view—the deficiency the other two suffer from. For example, if the failure to recognize the importance of the 'behavioural' dimension in the analysis of organizations is the shortcoming of the Structural approach, the failure of the Behavioural approach is to ignore the effect of the structural elements on the functioning of organizations.

It is further suggested that this explanation takes a System's* perspective of organizations, *i.e.*, if one of the five organs (or a part thereof) is malfunctioning, it is likely to adversely affect the operations of the related parts as well. So, if a change in one is contemplated, it should be considered and implemented only after taking into account its impact on the others, even if in a minute form.

*The term is the latest buzz—word being used in management literature. Its simplest meaning is that the analyst should approach a problem as a 'total system' and any solution found by him must be one that recognizes the interdependency of all the separate parts, understand them all—or at least, as many of these interrelationships as possible—so as to solve the problem effectively.

Winding up the discussion, we may say that as and when an administrator suspects that something is amiss or hurting the organization (total, parts or subparts), say, the output is low, decison-making is slow, there is conflict about work-tasks and resource distribution or a gap exists in the communication system, the time is ripe for him to make a start toward analyzing his organization by examining afresh the functioning of the affected part and its relationships with others. To repeat, the five major sub-systems of the total system are:

1. Organizational Goals;
2. External Environment;
3. Organizational Structure;
4. Psychosocial Milieu (internal environment); and
5. Organizational Technology.

Let us now, briefly, deal with these five subsystems separately and try to illuminate the vital role each one plays in organizations as well as their inter-relationships.

ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS

If organizations are 'goal-seeking' system—as has been observed, then, it has to be accepted that both the organization and its goals are so closely inter-woven with each other that it is virtually impossible to separate the two. It fact, a hard look at the very definition of the term 'organization' would show that goals are embedded into it. For example, as we know, an organization is always set up to achieve 'something'—and that 'something' is nothing but the goals of an organization. Etzioni makes this point succinctly when he says:

> Organizations are social units which pursue specific goals, their very *raison d' etre* is the service of these goals.[10]

While organizations shall have their 'stated goals', but an important question for an organizational analyst is to find out what are the 'real' goals of the organization. Etzioni maintains that sometimes the 'real goals' are different from

[10]Etzioni, Amitai. *Modern Organizations*, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewcod, Cliffs, N.J., 1964, p. 5.

the 'stated goals' and his analysis compels agreement:

> The real goals are those 'future states' towards which a
> majority of the organization's means and the major
> commitments of organizational members are directed and
> which, in cases of conflict with goals which are 'stated' but
> command few resources, have clear priority.[11]

The problem arises because most governmental bodies
have many goals, not just one. Secondly, the relative impor-
tance of these goals *vis-a-vis* each other keeps changes and
does not remain constant.

Etzioni makes yet another important inquisition in the
complexity of organizational goals, when he tells us how
certain organizations undertake processes to reduce the 'goals'
from the status of the 'master' to that of 'servant'. He
explains:

> . . . .once formed, organizations acquire their own needs,
> these sometimes become the masters of the organization.
> This happens, for example when a fund-raising organiza-
> tion spends more money on staff, buildings, and publicity
> than on the charity itself, for which funds are raised.[12]

Those who wish to analyze their organizations would
therefore do well, first, to gain an insight into the goals of
their organizations by asking—to borrow Peter Drucker's
famous question: "What business we are in?"

The practical import of this harsh reality is revealed
when, quite often—let alone the people lower down the
hierarchy—even the higher-ups are found wanting in a clear-
cut answer to the question. Bertram Gross comments:

> Yet there is nothing better calculated to embarrass the
> average executive than the direct query: "Just what are your
> organizations's objectives?" The typical reply is incom-
> plete or tortured, given with a feeling of obvious discomfort.
> The more skilful response is apt to be a glib evasion or a.

[11] Etzioni, Amitai, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

glittering generality.[13]

After having clarified the 'overall' goals (*absolute* precision may not always be possible in certain governmental bodies), the next step is to set up 'operational goals' and to provide the necessary resources for their implementation. The 'operational goals' should be made as specific and tangible *as is possible* so that these can be subjected to measurement.

Organizational effectivenesss would increase if the administrators insure that the 'operational goals' (at the organization/ unit/subunit/individual level) are clearly understood by one and all. This is important because it has been increasingly realized that without adequate understanding of these goals by the employees, their behaviour shall not be goal-oriented and the purposes of the organization (for which it was set up) shall also not be achieved.

Empirical evidence from a research study[14] conducted some years ago in a traffic police unit of a metropolitan city in India brought out this sad fact about lack of understanding of organizational goals (interestingly, this police unit had existed for as long as 16 years but was still without 'formal' goals; eighteen 'chiefs' had presided over that unit during that period but none of them paid any attention to this serious lapse).

An important finding derived from this study was that a fairly large percentage of the police officers (assistant commissioners and inspectors, included) were not clear about the 'overall' and 'operational' goals of their department and had been mistaking their day-to-day immediate 'tasks' for the 'organizational goals'. No wonder, they saw different goals, and different priorities, resulting—as is obvious—in a whole chain of erroneous activities and behaviours.

'Internalization of goals' by the employees is equally

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[13]Gross, Bertram M., "What are Your Organization's Objectives? A General System's Approach" in Hampton, David P., *Modern Management: Issues and Ideas*, Dickenson Publishing Co., Belmont, Calif., 1969, pp. 143-4.

[14]Nandy, Raj. "Understanding Organizations Through Perception of Organizational Goals", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, October-December, 1980, pp. 1076-88.

essential for goal-attainment or goal-optimization (*i.e.*, what an organization is capable of achieving). Before such a mental transformation can take place in the mind of an employee, a set of three closely-related attitudes must grip him, says Buchanan:

(*a*) a sense of identification with the mission of the organization: (*b*) a feeling of involvement or psychological immersion in the organizational duties; and (*c*) a feeling of loyalty for the organization as a place to live and work, quite apart from the merits of its mission or its purely instrumental value to the individual.[15]

Such an intense willingness to serve one's organization may be found amongst members of national teams competing in Olympic or regional (say, Asian or European) Games. It is rare in industrial or other organizations—government or private sector.

A motivational fable from the West draws an interesting distinction between that is called a 'total commitment' to organizational goals or just making a 'contribution to them by the employees of a formal organization:

One day a chicken and a pig were travelling together down a highway. They had been walking for several hours when they came upon a road-side restaurant. A flashing sign in front of it read: Breakfast served, Bacon* and eggs.

As they approached, the chicken became ecstatic upon seeing the sign. The pig enquired curiously: What is so exciting about a little neon, beyond the promise of food?
The chicken replied: "It thrills my heart every time I see that sign. Millions of people see similar signs each day and when they do, they think of the two of us." The pig acknowledged that it was nice to be thought of, but then

[15]Buchanan, Bruce, "To Walk an Extra Mile: The Whats, Whens and Whys of Organizational Commitment", *Organizational Dynamics*, Spring, 1979, p. 68.
*'Bacon', means salted and smoked meat of a pig.

he observed: It is more difficult for me to share your enthusiasm. You see, for you the sign represents only a 'contribution' but for me it represents 'toal commitment'.[16]

Why the pig was *less* enthusiastic than the chicken upon seeing the flashing sign? It is not difficult to know: he was required to pay a much greater price (total slaughter) to achieve the same objective (production of a breakfast). For the chicken, it was only a matter of giving an egg (contribution) and getting away. Yet, the fact remains that without the 'total commitment' of the pig, breakfast of that kind could just not be made available.

The writer has commented that modern organizations are filled with people who readily identify themselves with the 'chicken'. The challenge is one of moving them from a point of making a 'contribution' to that of 'total commitment'.

Perhaps one way to overcome this problem is repeated emphasis on organizational goals by bombarding the minds of the employees. At least, the Japanese have come out with a novel idea. In a few factories there, the daily work-life of the workforce begins with the recitation of specially-written jingles which give expression to organizational goals/values and exhort the workers to develop personnel commitment to them.

But, Japan has become the world's leader in management today not because of these jingles but because of more fundamental management practices: a 'bottom-up' style of management based on 'ideas of employees' rather than 'top-down style' practised in the West and countries like India. They really work like a 'family', with each member of the organisation assisting the others—the senior always, first, trying to create a 'cheerful atmosphere' and then constantly helping, encouraging the juniors so that the latter give their commitment of their own free will. If an organization's earnings fall, they don't just lay off workers—as is done in the West: they first, cut dividends and lay off employees only

as a last resort. The 'psychological contract' between the two is, naturally, very strong.[17]

Writers like Merton see in the bureaucratic organizations some other forces, too, that distort the 'goal structure' of organizations, or to use his words, 'displacement of goals'. According to him:

> Adherence to the rules, originally conceived as a means, becomes transformed into an end-in-itself; there occur the familiar process of displacement of goals whereby an instrumental value becomes a terminal value.[18]

A popular approach being used in the West to integrate 'individual' and 'group' goals with the 'overall organizational goals' is that of Management by Objectives (Mbo). Briefly stated, the Mbo programme begins with the top man (whatever you might call him) who meets his men—at the headquarters or in the field—and briefs them on the overall objectives of the organisation. These objectives once defined, it is then the turn of the sub-units to define their sub-goals, followed by each member of the sub-unit who also writes down his specific plans and target-dates (depending upon the nature of the task. Out of this exercise emerges an interlocked and agreed-upon set of goals of all concerned at all levels. Specific performance standards are also established to evaluate the actual results achieved against the original goals. The goals should be realistic and attainable in the light of all circumstances.

Though refined and described, for the first time in 1954, by Peter Drucker[19], the well-known American authority on modern management, the origin of Mbo has been traced to managerial practices developed and followed in different

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[17]*Tokyo Newsletter*, brought out by Mitsubishi Corporation, Tokyo, December, 1981, pp. 6-7.

[18]Merton, Robert K., "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality" in Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glenco, Ill., The Free Press, 1949, pp. 195-206.

[19]Drucker, Peter, *The Practice of Management*, William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1955, Chapter 11. Also see Odiorne, George S., *Management by Objectives*, Pitman Publishing Corporation, New York, 1965.

situations at different points of time. For example, there that book about Siberian prison life "The House of the Dead" by Dostoesky[20] in which he describes the effect on the prisoners' work performance when guards gave them clearly-defined tasks which, once completed, left the prisoners free to themselves for a short period. The prisoners worked desperately hard so that they might have an odd hour to themselves, irrespective of the heavy amount of work allotted to them. This psychological insight amply illustrates the principles of the technique, called Mbo. It is used today differently by different organizations in the West, some stressing it as a 'managerial-planning' approach, and others as a 'superior performance—appraisal' approach. The essential point to be noted here is that research done so far on Mbo programme there largely supports Drucker's dictim that there are more advantages of managing organizations by 'objectives' than by 'drives' (classical/structural approach). Drucker even mentions a simpler way of doing it; through the use of what he calls a 'manager's letter', *i.e.*, a letter written by a subordinate to his superior twice a year in which he spells out the objectives of his own and of his superior's job. He also outlines the plans he would follow the obstacles he expects and the help he will need from others in the organization. Once the letter is approved, it becomes the subordinate's performance guide.

From the short description of the Mbo programme, we can infer that the goals of an organization have three other important implications for an organizational analyst:

1. They clarify the *amount of resources needed* by an organization (as also its constituent parts) to achieve its end-purpose;

2. They help in *measuring organizational effectiveness*; and,

3. If the set-goals become dysfunctional at one stage, or the other, these can be *reviewed periodically* (in the absence of such a condition, it would be difficult to know whether an organization is proceeding in the right direction.)

[20]Quoted in Spiers, Maurice, *Techniques and Public Administration*, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

The Mbo programme, thus, forces everybody in the organization to carry his share of burden of responsibility as also establish linkages of his or her goals with those of others. For, one cannot be a good administrator/supervisor if one cannot understand the goals of the subordinates and other supervisors, and the problems facing them. At the same time, one cannot be a good subordinate if one does not understand and appreciate the goals/problems of his superiors and fellow-subordinates.

In a parliamentary form of government, it is the political executive (minister) who generally establishes broad institutional goals that help relate the governmental bodies to their environment—simple or complex. Management, then, translates these broad objectives into operational goals. To Perrow, however, this transition from the 'overall' to the 'operational' can be risky for the organization if it results in what he calls 'weak goals'. This note of caution appears to be particularly relevant for urban development authorities in India. He puts them on their guard:

> An organization with weakly-held goals is a poor tool for accomplishing ends, so that it may be shaped by opportunistic forces in the environment.[21]

He also warns against the possibilities of manipulation of organizational goals by elements from outside in collusion with insiders:

> Without firm goals, such organizations are subject to vagrant pressures from within and without, even as they may grow and prosper.[22]

EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

From the viewpoint of an organization, its 'external environment' is of particular significance for an analyst because it has generally been found to exert its potent influ-

[21]Perrow, Charles, *op. cit*, p. 173.
[22]*Ibid.*

ence on the functioning of the organization.

How do we define 'external environment' of an organization? In the broadest sense, it is everything 'external' to the boundaries of an organization.

Pfeffer and Salancik[23] direct our attention to three levels of the external environment. The one at the highest level consists of *all individuals and organizations* who are related (directly or indirectly) to one another and to the focal organization. The second level is limited to the individuals and organizations that *interact directly* with the focal organization. "It is on this level that the organization can experience its environment", say the writers. The third level refers to the organizations/individuals *recognized* by the focal organization as being *crucial* to its functioning. Ullrich and Wieland use an analogy to drive home this point:

> For the many individuals with whom I come into contact, relatively few can influence my behaviour. We are not necessarily talking about people who actually influence me, but about my somewhat subjective perception of how I am influenced. Thus, my social environment is not defined objectively, as encompassing all of the people who interact with me, but as my subjective experience of people who affect me. In a similar vein, the organization's environment is subjectively enacted.[24]

The explanation offered by Kast and Rosenzweig[25] is also very helpful in this connection. They divide the external environment of an organization in two categories:

1. Societal (general) Environment; and,
2. Task (specific) Environment.

The main components of the Societal Environment are:

[23]Pfeffer, Jeffrey, and Salancik, Gerald R., *The External Control of Organizations*, Harper & Row, 1978.

[24]Ullrich, Robert A., and Wieland, George F., *Organization Theory and Design*, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., Homewood, Ill., 1980, p. 171.

[25]Kast, Fremont E., and Rosenzweig, James E., *Organization and Management: A System and Contingency Approach*, McGraw Hill, p. 131.

(a) Cultural, (b) Technological, (c) Educational, (d) Political, (e) Legal, (f) Natural Resources, (g) Demographic, (h) Sociological, and (i) Economic. These are the same for all organizations in a given society, and play an important part in determining the resources available for inputs, the specific goals, transformation processes and acceptability of organizational goods.

The "Task (Specific) Environment" has, however, been defined as "the more specific forces which are relevant to the decision-making and transformation processes of the individual organization". This environment is different for each organization, and affect the individual organization directly.

Many forces at the Societal general or macro level influence, directly or indirectly, the 'Task' (specific) Environment of an organization. An example of one of these forces, namely, the 'cultural force' is the prevalence of the 'work-avoidance ethic' in governmental organizations today whereby 'hard work' no longer enjoys the same social support it received some 50 years back in India.

The major components in the Task environment of an organization are as follows (these are, in particular, applicable to a typical industrial organization—public or private):

Components of Task Environment

I. *Customer Component*
   Distributors of a product or service
   Actual users of product or service

II. *Suppliers Component*
   New materials suppliers
   Equipment suppliers
   Product part suppliers
   Labour supply

III. *Competitor Component*
   Competitors for suppliers
   Competitors for customers

IV. *Socio-Political Component*
   Government regulatory control over the industry
   Public political attitude towards industry and its particular product
   Relationship with trade union with jurisdiction in the

organization

V. *Technological Component*

Meeting new technological requirements of own indus-
try and related industries in production of product or
service

Improving and developing new products by imple-
menting new technological advances in the industry.[26]

Duncan suggests that the catalogue of components given
above is only a 'master list' which can serve as a guide for
all administrators who are interested in analyzing the unique
environments of their respective organizations and identifying
the components. For example, the components of the Task
Environment of an organization like the Delhi Development
Authority or the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Autho-
rity—two awesome organizations in terms of their operations
and sizes—cannot be the same as those of a Class II muni-
cipality. In the same manner, the environmental characteristics
of a university in India cannot be the same as those of a
public sector undertaking like, Engineering India Ltd., which
as a competitor in engineering projects in the international
area, operates in a very 'uncertain' environment.

Duncan also illustrates how 'environment' can influence
the structure-design of an organization. He argues that
after the environment has been *defined* and the major compo-
nents identified, the next step is the essentiality of "under-
standing the *state* of the environment". In dealing with the
'state' of the environment, he emphasizes two dimensions[27]:

1. Simple-complex,
    or
2. Static-dynamic

The *simple-complex* dimension has to do with:

Factors in the environment that are few in number but

similar to each other;

<div align="center">or</div>

Factors are *many* and *different* from each other.

The *static-dynamic* dimension, according to him, will focus on:

Factors of the environment which remain the *same* over time or change;

<div align="center">or</div>

Factors continually changing over time.

He develops from the above analysis two principles which, he feels, can act as tools for designing organisation structure and location of decision-making authority.

1. If the organisation's environment is relatively simple, *i.e.*, there are not too many factors to consider in decision-making and are stable, that means the information and coordination needs of the organisation are low. In such circumstances, a "functional structure" is most appropriate (its key strengths: best in stable environment, and supports in-depth skill development);

2. When the environment is very complex, *i.e.*, there are many factors different from each other, that means the information and coordination needs of the system are high. In such situations, a "decentralised structure" is effective (its key strengths: faster and better decisions, development of subordinates).

Similarly, he suggests 'functional' and 'mixed functional' type of structures for 'static' and 'dynamic' state of environment.

Generalizing from this analysis, it can be stated that the administrators need to scan the environments of their units/organizations as frequently as possible in order to affect the necessary change in the structure-design of their units so that the two can be good fit. An organization neglecting the influence of environment on its structure and strategies shal

do so only at its own peril.

Apart from this environment-structure relationship, there
is also the question of interaction with other factors operating
in the environment, say, such governmental or non-govern-
mental agencies that come into contact with the focal organi-
zation. This should cause the administrator to ask whether
his organization is appropriately designed to handle these
relationship effectively. If not, what remedical steps are
called for?

Finally, to mention yet another important indicator of the
environment's impact, we may say that it impinges itself also
when the government feels it necessary to float new organiza-
tions in response to stimuli from the "Societal (general)—
Environment". The creation of several urban institutions
like the town improvement trusts in the past and slum clear-
ance boards and a host of others in recent years are all
examples of this thrust from the environment.*

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

"Structure is an important scientific concept", says McFar-
land.[26] Regardless of what is the object of study by each
scientist—'cells' by the biologist, 'universe' by the astro-
nomer, 'atoms or molecules' by the Physicist—'structure' or
the structural relationships in the phenomena is what they
are out to analyze and discover.

In management, an organisational analyst, too, is interested
to know how organisations are structured, what are the
various parts and how they are related to each other.

If we begin by recognizing that an organisation is always
set up to achieve some purpose, it goes without saying that

*The conception of the Marxist writers on urban sociology is, however,
different. They argue that "many of the urban institutions and practices
we take for granted are really the products of 'class struggle'—the notion
which the bourgeois urban sociologists have been grossly neglecting". "It
is a claim with much substance to it", say Brian Elliott and David
McCrone. See Elliott, Brian and McCrone, David, *The City: Pattern of
Domination and Conflict*, Macmillan, London, 1982, Chapter 1.

[26]McFarland, Dalont, E. *Management: Principles and Practice*, The
Macmillan, London, 1970, p. 337.

some sort of 'division of labour' would be necessary to accomplish the given objective. Once this step has been initiated, structure of an organisation has begun to take shape. We may, therefore, conclude that 'to structure' an organisation is to arrange all its parts in such a way that the 'whole' shall act as one body.

Or, simply stated, 'organisation structure' means: (1) the tasks people are assigned, (2) who they report to, and (3) who they work and interact with in order to get their jobs done.

Generally speaking, the formal structure has the following dimensions:

1. Allocation of tasks/responsibilities to individuals/ departments in the organisation also called differentation*;
2. Designation of formal reporting relationships, number of levels in hierarchies and span of control;
3. Centralization/decentralization/delegation;
4. Effective communication of information and integration of effort; and,
5. Planned and formalized policies, procedures and controls that guide the activities and relationships of people in the organization.

Management experts have pointed out that if any one of the above-said components in the internal structure of an organization is missing or malfunctioning, there can be marginal-to-serious consequences so far as organizational efficiency/effectiveness is concerned.

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*'Differentiation' means the degree (high or low) of task specialization within or organization. In larger organization, this differentiation is carried much further. For example, a body like the Delhi Development Authority shall have more differentiation in its organizational system than a body like Slum Clearance Board in a State.

In organizations, this differentiation is of two types: the 'vertical' specialization and the 'horizontal' differentiation of activities. The former is represented by the hierarchy from the top man to the operating level at the bottom: this hierarchy also establishes the basic 'communication' and 'authority' structure. The latter, *i.e.*, the horizontal differentiation defines the departmentalization in the organization.

Grouping of Activities

The set of criteria suggested for departmentalization in the organization is as follows:

1. *Purpose or Product—i.e.*, When all the activities and work procedures necessary to accomplish a given purpose, or to produce and market a given product, are grouped together under the supervision of one person;
2. *Process or Function—i.e.*, when the activities are grouped and supervised on the basis of specialized technical skills;
3. *Area—i.e.*, when activities are grouped on the basis of geographic area to be served; and,
4. *Clientele—i e.*, when activities are grouped on the basis of clientele groups being served.

In practice, most organisations—in government or private business—are organised in some combination of these four broad patterns. Each of these, in its pure form, has certain merits and demerits and, hence, when it comes to grouping activities, the result is invariably a compromise.

An organisational analyst is however advised to bear in mind the following factors in grouping activities: size of the organisation; multiplicity of objectives; complexity of activities, available resources; speed requirements; capacity of executives.

Span of Control

Research has shown that the most effective span of control is not the same in every situation. Amongst the conditions that should be weighed while determining the span are:

Is the work repetitive/routine or complex/diverse? Are the employees physically close to the supervisor? Are both the supervisor and the subordinates of top calibre? Is there a desire on the part of the superior to develop his subordinators? Is the state of technology simple or complex?

Number of Levels in Hierarchy

It is generally agreed that longer the chain of command,

the greater the chance that the organisation will take on the characteristics that have given rise to the negative connotation of the word 'bureaucracy': *i.e.*, red tapism, impersonality, distorted communications, inflexibility, etc. Hence, while it is usually prescribed that the chain of command should be "as short as possible", the organisational analyst shall have to study a given situation and then answer the question: How short?

Though the above advice is somewhat vague, Donald Stone is very specific:

> Avoid excessive hierarchy. An increase in levels of supervision increases geometrically the number of persons who review, approve and interfere, often for no reason. Red tape delays, paper work, irrelevant processes, waste of resources and unrealistic and ineffective results derive from excess layering.[29]

Centralization/Decentralization

Another problem that often presents itself in governmental organisations is that of 'centralisation *vs* decentralisation'. First of all, it must be made clear that these are 'relative' rather than 'absolute' terms, *i.e.*, more or less centralization or decentralization—is a question of degree. All decisions of all kinds can never, in actuality, be made only at the top or at the very bottom; the amount of centralisation or decentralization has to be assessed at each level. The extent also varies by 'function', that is, some of them, say, purchasing/personnel in an organisation are best centralized.

Sherman makes the plea that: (*i*) If immediate or instantaneous decisions are needed, there is more reason for decentralising authority to the 'grassroots'. An activity cannot, however, be delegated if there are not trained and capable subordinates to carry out the responsibilities; certain 'reserved' or 'executive' powers are rarely subject to delega-

[29]Stone. Donald C., "Organizational Gamesmanship", *The Bureaucrat*, Spring, 1980, p. 54.

tion, say, (*a*) programme planning, (*b*) coordination, and (*c*) evaluation.[30]

Just as in private sector, the acid test of the degree of centralization or decentralization is 'increased profit', in the governmental system it is, by and large, that of 'improved services'.

Communication Network

The organization is seen by some management writers as a "communication network; this view also merits the attention of the organizational analyst. Chester Barnard has suggested that "communication techniques shape the form, the structure, extensiveness and scope of organization".[31]

Communication system in an organization is of two types: *Written* (such as, policy statements, directives, reports, meetings, decisions, letters); and *Verbal* (spoken words, actions, facial expressions, tone of voice, gestures, and even silence).

Written communications in most governmental bodies (designed on traditional/bureaucratic lines) are known to move only up and down the hierarchy, *i e.*, vertically. However, because of increasing complexity and differentiation within them, there is an urgent need for creation of more elaborate communication network which will ensure speedy movement of information 'horizontally' and 'diagonally' as well. For example, direct contacts between junior officials placed in two different units of an organization may be allowed; in making such contacts, however, it shall be their duty to keep their seniors informed. That is the only way for expeditious disposal of work, particularly when minor decisions involving small amounts of money are to be taken under time pressures. Some organizations in the West have also taken recourse to publication of weekly/monthly newsletters, meant to spread the word around concerning major problems/decisions that affect the entire organization.

Verbal communication is problematic because, at times,

[30]Sherman, Harvey, *It All Depends: A Pragmatic Approach to Organization*, University of Albama Press, Albama, 1966, p. 200.

[31]Barnard, Chester, *The Functions of the Executive*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 90-1.

due to the use of wrong words, gestures, tone of voice (even if unintentional) misunderstandings can arise and result in deep-seated mental barriers. These barriers can and should be bridged. Boyd has a few suggestions in this respect.[32]

Barrier	*Bridge*
Poor listening	Feedback
Semantics	Speak in receiver's vocabulary
Self-interest	Empathy
Poor planning	Newer planning questions
Failure to see the need	Develop awareness

The ultimate objective is to promote openness of communication amongst employees, units/departments and, thereby, build into the entire system a process of genuine feedback of performance with a view to making timely adjustments and corrections in work flow.

Differentiation and Integration/Coordination

As a large, complex organization carries out diverse activities, there are bound to be conflicts among units, when, individual members or the units as wholes are looking at things from their own point of view. It is not surprising, therefore, that differentiation within an organization generates problems of integration and coordination. In fact, greater the degree of differentiation, more varied the viewpoints of the units involved and, hence, more difficult to achieve integration.

Lorsch tells us that the difficulty in achieving integration in large organisation is affected by several factors. However, the two most important of these are:

(a) Number of units whose activities are to be integrated; and

(b) Pattern of their interdependence.

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[32]Boyd, Bradford B., *Management-Minded Supervisor*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1968, Chapter 3.

He points out three patterns of inter-dependence:

1. *Pooled*: All units are each interdependent with a 'central' unit, and they are expected to pool their efforted to attain the total goals of the organization;

2. *Sequential*: As the term itself indicates, each unit is interdependent with the unit *ahead* of it in the workflow of the organization. For example, the efficiency of an engineering division in an urban development authority is interdependent with that of the' land aquisition unit; and

3. *Reciprocal*: This is the most complex of all patterns because it involves mutual interdependence amongst *several* or *all* units and the 'output' of one unit becomes the input of the other and *vice versa*. An example is scheduling of an activity like 'slum improvement' which involves simultaneous action on the part of several units and the constant need for schedule adjustment because of uncertainty of external environmental factors. If one (or more than one unit) tries to act 'independently' and refuses to recognize its reciprocal interdependence with others, it can disrupt the efficiency of the 'total activity'.[33]

It would be extremely difficult for the individual at the top to deal and cope with all the integrating coordination problems single-handed. Therefore, integration amongst feuding units have to be resolved through some other means.

Researches carried out by Lorsch suggest some good ideas in this respect. For example, he recommends the creation of "cross-unit teams" which can be used in lieu or in addition to the integrating role of the top man. He feels that such integrative devices that encourage face-to-face contact amongst representatives of the units involved will have to be

[33]Lorsch, Jay W., "Organization Design: A Situational Perspective", in Miles, Robert H., and Randolph, Alan W., *The Organization Game: A Simulation in Organization Behaviour, Design, Change and Development*, Goodyear Publishing Company Inc., Santa Monica, Calif., 1979, pp. 107-8.

used on a continuing basis. In his view:

> If the managers work in a problem-solving made to get the various viewpoints out on the table and work through to the best overall solution, our evidence indicates they will be most effective at achieving integration. If, on the other hand, they smooth over or avoid conflict or let a party with greater power force a solution on others, their efforts at achieving integration will be less effective.[34]

Another mechanism that he believes can be effective is: "training/educational programmes". Through such programmes, managers can be educated to the need for changes in the way conflict is resolved and can develop skill in more effective practices.

Structural-design Choices

What are the various factors that affect structural-design choices?

The existing state of knowledge appears to point out that it is not right for a management to look at the experience of other organizations for ideas about how best to organize the structure of its own organization. For instance, it would not be correct for a state housing board to make the internal structure of another housing board as a model for its own. The same can be said about other urban bodies. Because an organization is an 'open system', the external environment, the technology used, the relationships amongst people performing various activities—all have an important bearing on the structure-design for an organization. Kast and Rosenzweig generalize this proposition by suggesting:

> ... the more heterogeneous, dynamic and uncertain the environment, the more complex and differentiated the internal structure.[35]

They point out that while environmental influences are important in determining the structure at the *strategic* level,

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[34]Lorsch, Jay W., *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[35]Kast Fremont E., and Rosenzweig, James E., *op. cit.*, p. 205.

the nature of technology affects the structure at the *operating* levels.

A simple test for determining what kind of structure-design would best suit the needs of an organization is the "continuum from 'mechanistic' to 'organic' patterns of organizing". Research of the past 20-30 years clearly reveals that the answer to the requirements of an organization with stable, certain environments and a staff that prefers stability is the 'mechanistic form', *i.e.*, the traditional/classical/bureaucratic model which is controlled from the top and programmes activities tightly. However, for organizations with unstable, uncertain environments, staff tolerant of unstructured roles, flexibility in rules/decision-making authority, etc., the 'organic' type of structure is more appropriate. The studies indicate that the future organization, particularly those which operate in environments of rapid change, shall have to loosen up itself sufficiently so that it can organize and reorganize itself in a variety of ways to meet with new demands and situations. In the West, there is already a movement toward the concept of "form follows function" rather than "tasks must fit into existing structure", and this has given rise to new types of structures like, 'project organization', and 'matrix organization'.

Thus, 'flexibility' in the structure is the new principle of organizing. This is something—they say—is built into the structure of all '*result-oriented*' organizations. This diagnosis seems to be correct. For, "even a simple organization like that of a cricket team, cannot afford to dispense with this important principle of management theory. Those of us who have watched the game would remember that the position of the players in the 'fielding team' is not always the same but is frequently altered to suit the strengths and weaknesses of the particular batsman or bowler. For a spin bowler, for example, more field-men are placed close to the batsman than for a medium or fast bowler. If this principle is important for a fun-oriented organization like a cricket team, it is a must for enterprises like urban development authorities which

are engaged in solving serious problems of human life."[36]

ORGANIZATIONAL TECHNOLOGY*

In its narrow sense, the term 'technology' is associated with 'machinery and equipment'. But, these represent only the 'mechanical' artifacts of technology. Organizational technology includes both the mechanical as well as 'non-mechanical' instruments used in the transformation of inputs into outputs. Thus, the present-day definition of this term goes far beyond its traditional meaning and includes, apart from machines like electric typewriters, computers, etc., knowledge, skills, procedures, information and other such means that an organization or its units use to accomplish their assigned tasks. Perrow provides an interesting definition. According to him, technology involves:

> ...the actions that an individual performs on an object, with or without the aid of tools or mechanical devices, in order to make some change in that object.[37]

In other words, knowledge, not machinery alone, is an essential component of organizational technology. As a simple example, we may say that when rules/procedures of accounting in a government department or training methods (from lectures to case studies) in a training organization have undergone a change, a new organizational technology has evolved.

As a factor in the analysis of organisation, it made a

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[36]Nandy, Raj, "Magic Word: Understanding", *Urban India*, Vol. 2, June 1982, p. 9.

*Technology is different from 'task' in that the latter is 'what' has to be done and the former is 'how' it is to be done. Two other related terms may also be explained in simple language: 'Process—refers to the activities (like decision-making and communications) officials engage in while utilizing the organizational technology and 'structure' which, as already spelt out, means how the efforts of people in an organization are, first, segregated for specialization and, then, coordinated for overall goal-attainment.

[37]Charles, Perrow, "A Framework for the Comparative Analysis of Organizations", *American Sociological Review*, 1967, Vol. 32, pp. 194-208.

rather late entry into management literature because it began to gain the attention of researchers/theoreticians only from the early 1950s. The Tavistock group in London was the first to spotlight its importance in this context when, after its researches on coal mining (1951) it concluded that if the psycho-social subsystem in an organisation is not changed to fit the 'technology' and 'need' of the workers, their performance and job-satisfaction will be adversly affected. In other words, technological change (say, introduction of computers in an organisation) should not be seen or considered purely from the narrow mechanistic-engineering viewpoint. Its disrupting effect on the social structure within the organisation need to be carefully examined and if the new technology is to work effectively, the social system may have to be suitably redesigned.[38]

A similar conclusion came from another Tavistock study of the introduction of automatic looms to textile mills in Ahmedabad (India). In describing the results of the changes in the socio-technical system, the researchers by developing a new work-group structure (adapted to the demands of both the social and technical systems of the mill) by de-emphasizing differences in skills, prestige and status among the members of the work-groups and through maintenance of satisfying interpersonal relationships, they were able to obtain higher productivity. They narrate how the workers ran (not walk) as they went about their work, how they even attempted to work through mealtimes, and so on (incidentally, this is also the Marxian viewpoint, *i.e.*, social structure plays a significant part in determining the organizational means of production).[39]

A search of literature reveals impact of 'technology' on other subsystems of organisations as well. For example, Joan Woodward's study (1965) of about 100 small manufacturing firms in the south of England showed that there was a direct co-relation between 'technology' and 'structure' of an orga-

[38]Trist, E.L. and Bamforth, K.W., "Some Social and Psychological Consequences of the Longwall Method of Coal-mining", *Human Relations*, 1951, pp. 3-38.

[39]Rice, Albert K., *Productivity and Social Organization: The Ahmedabad Experiment*, Tavistock Publications, London, 1958.

nisation and that technology was an important determinant of the structure most likely to be related to the success of the given enterprise.[40]

Perrow, using a different methodology, also came to the same conclusion that organisation structure should match its technology and if an organisation's technology changes, so should its structure.[41]

Yet another example of how technology-influences-structure is provided by the research conducted by Gerald Bill when he found that 'job complexity' was a dominant issue in the determination of 'span of control'. In simple jobs, supervisors and subordinates made few job-related decisions and, as a result, processed a relatively small amount of information. Under such circumstances, organizations could go in for 'greater' span of control. However, as job complexity increased, supervisory staff would become over-loaded with information/decision-making, forcing the management to create additional levels of supervision and, thereby, reducing the span of control.[42]

A case study of an Indian local body which tried to instal a new technology (mechanization) to improve its accounting methods has also shown profound impact of a changed technology on the 'structure' and 'social subsystem' of the organisation.[43]

Likewise, the effect of technology on the 'managerial subsystem' within a few English and Scottish organizations was reported by the famous study of Burns & Stalker (1961). The researchers had set out to investigate "how management systems changed in accordance with changes in the technical and commercial tasks of a firm". Their finding was that a different managerial system was appropriate for firms involv-

[40]Woodward Joan, *Industrial Organization, Theory and Practice*, Oxford University Press, Fair Dawn, N.J., 1965.

[41]Perrow, Charles, "Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View", *op. cit.*

[42]Bell, Gerald D., "Determinants of Span of Control", *American Journal of Sociology*, 1976, pp. 80-101.

[43]Nandy, Raj, "Experimenting with Partial Mechanization", in *Administrative Environment: A Bunch of Case Studies*, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 217-228.

ed in a 'stable' technology and environment as compared to those adopting to rapidly-changing technology. They termed this managerial system as 'mechanistic' and found that it had well-defined tasks, methods, duties and powers; the interaction between the superior and the subordinate was vertical, accompanied by a strong command hierarchy—all the attributes of what is popularly known as the 'bureaucratic model'.

In contrast, the managerial system operating under 'unstable' conditions was flexible, with less emphasis on definition of roles, status, rules, etc. There was also a wide dispersal of power based not on 'authority' but on 'technical knowledge and expertise'. They called this system as 'organic'.[44]

Technology has been found to have subtle influence on 'inter-personal relations' in organizations as well.[45]

With every technological advancement, the work situation in organizations would undergo a tremendous change. Even though governmental bodies in India have been touched by this 'explosion' only to a limited extent so far, but they cannot escape from it too long. The administrators shall have, therefore, to stay alert and prepare themselves for realistic appraisal of the impact of the new information technology on the various sub-systems of the organisations: structure, social and managerial sub-systems may have to redesigned, and decision-making centres shifted. They shall also need a better understanding of the rules/procedure and knowledge/skill/information of their organization so that these aspects of technology can be continually up-dated to develop the right fit to organizational requirements.

PSYCHOSOCIAL MILIEU

This crucial subsystem in the organization goes by different names in the management lexicon. For example, Peter Drucker[46] and Douglas McGregor[47] call it the 'spirit of an

[44]Burns, Tom and Stalker, G.M., *The Management of Innovation*, Tavistock Publication, London, 1961.

[45]Whyte, William F., "The Social Structure of the Restaurant", *American Journal of Sociology*, 1949, pp. 302-10.

[46]Drucker, Peter, *The Practice of Management*, William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1955, Chapter 13.

[47]McGregor, Douglas, *The Human Side of Enterprise*, Tata-McGraw Hill Publishing Co. Ltd., Bombay/New Delhi, 1975, Chapter. 11.

organization' and the 'managerial climate'. So baffling and bewildering are its realities that Chris Argyris, a noted behavioural scientist, remarks that anyone trying to study organizational climate is always faced with the problem of "ordering and conceptualizing a buzzing confusion of simultaneously-existing, multi-level, mutually-interacting variables".[48]

Perhaps the most significant variable of this 'buzzing confusion' in organizations is what has come to be known as the existence and operation of "informal groups, metaphorically referred as the 'underworld'. Wendell French and Charles Bell use the analogy of an 'iceberg' to describe an organization whose submerged part contains various elements of the 'informal system' (the invisible) while the upper part (the visible) carries the 'formal aspects'.[49]

A systematic interest in the study of informal organizations developed as a result of the Hawthorne experiments in 1930s (see page 7). These studies showed, *inter alia*, that human beings do not normally confine their behaviour-at-work to merely the performance of their tasks. Because man is a 'social' animal, he needs a 'human environment' to satisfy his social and psychological needs; these needs are in the form of 'psychological baggage' that he carries with him wherever he goes. He seeks this environment at work as well. So, when people socially interact with each other every morning by exchanging the usual pleasantaries like "How are you" or passing the grapevine information, "Hey, did you hear that so-and-so has been issued a warning memo by the administration branch" (or "Where are you from"—if he or she is a new arrival), they are all trying to open us their 'psychological baggage' for the day at the work-situation and satisfy these spontaneously arising needs through social intercourse. A part of this 'baggage' is also the individual's developmental history—in the family, the school, the university—as well as the past experiences/attitudes/values

[48]Argyris, Chris, "Some Problems in Conceptualizing Organizational Climate: A Case Study of a Bank", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1957, p. 501.

[49]Quoted in Stolyarenko, A., "The Psychology of Management of Labour Collectives", *op. cit.*, p. 19.

which condition his way of looking at things/people/situations in his own unique manner. Through these day-to-day conversations, which are inevitable and partly incidental to the task, each one gradually tests out and learns who amongst his colleagues sees things the way he does, who shares the same interests in life, and so on. After more-or-less right answers have been found to these questions, people come together to form 'informal groups', based upon a set of shared beliefs and values in organizational life or even those imported from the outer environment. The groups may be in pairs or in larger numbers. The membership is not permanent; it depends on whether a group is satisfying the needs and expectations of a member. It can be an exclusive 'higher employees' group, a 'lower employees' affair, or even a mixture of the two. One person may be a member of several groups at the same time and so the groups overlap. They develop their own 'roles', norms of behaviour, communication channels and decision-making procedures. Some are more close-knit than others. There are in them the 'active' members as also the 'passive' ones.

One can observe such countless informal organizations taking shape during tea-time or lunch-break in government offices every day when small groups of people from different units move toward the canteen (the rendezvous could also be an office-room itself) and then proceed to discuss, in a leisurely fashion, some topic or the other. Though, officially, only 15-20 minutes are allowed for tea breaks, these informal groups take their own time (sometimes as long as an hour or even more) to disband—but only to get together again in the afternoon (or, for that matter, any time) to share more recent information about the goings-on in the organization and to know each other's reactions.

If we were to tabulate the topics and the accompanying feelings, which typically govern the behaviour of people in such gatherings, we may do as follows: smouldering grievances, disparity in working conditions within the organisation, corrupt practices, battles against arrogant/autocratic superiors, sharp antagonisms at the intra/inter group levels, sychophancy, jealousies, rivalries, etc. An interesting feature of these discussions is that members of the informal groups

refer to their bosses by their first or last name and not the way ('sahib' or 'sir') they would do face-to-face. Many speak without restraint and can be seen letting their full steam off. There are those for whom their own personal problem-area (some sort of a raw deal by the superiors) is central and they use these occasions to give vent to their feelings and evaluations and to assess what attitudes others hold. The whole flavour of the kind of things said about management and its policies and practices make it absolutely clear that there is a serious breakdown of communication between the management and the informal organizations. For a brief period, it appears, that the 'under-world' has surfaced and the 'unseen' has become' the 'seen' part. When lakhs of employees in sprawling public bureaucracies in a large country like India are seen struggling for a good part of their working day to express their inner personalities and to adopt such felt needs to the demands of the formal organization, the behaviourists seem hundred per cent right when they say that an organization is not merely a "system of work activities" but also a "system of social relations". Thus, while everyone in the organization—individually or as a member of informal groups—is trying to pursue his own 'private goals', the situation results in—if we may say so by inference—in non-accomplishment of 'organizational goals'. This is what makes the reality of 'psychosocial milieu' very complex—a reality of numerous, ever-changing and amorphous mini social organization co-existing and operating within a formal organization, all the time.

Another very important finding demonstrated by the Hawthorne studies was that of the emergence of 'informal leaders' within these private groupings of employees. A group may have only one informal leader or several of them of 'varying importance'. It means that while the activities of each 'formal group' are supposed to be controlled and coordinated by the 'formal leader' in order to ensure attainment of goals of the organization, but in the same formal group there may also be an 'informal leader' whose influence on group members may be far more predominant than that of the formal leader. Says Kieth Davis: "He is in a biological sense the 'dominant gene' in his interaction with others".

Davis has also tried to illustrate statistically the influence of such informal leaders in formal organizations.

Take the case of a group ABCDE. In this group there can be twentysix interpersonal combinations as follows:

AB	ABC	ABCD
AC	ABD	ABDE
AD	ABE	ACDE
AE	ACD	ABCE
BC	ACE	BCDE
BD	ADE	ABCDE
BE	BCD	
CD	BCE	
CE	BDE	
DE	CDE	

Assuming that A is the leader and that each of the twenty-six combinations occur as often as any other, it is seen that A (who is one-fifth of the group) is involved in approximately three-fifths of the interactions. The result would be identical selecting B,C,D or E as the informal leader. Since an anti-company informal leader 'poisons' a majority of the interpersonal contacts, it is easy to see how one such person can quickly undermine a manager and ruin morale in a whole department. The informal leader in this instance is the one bad apple that ruins the barrel of apples.[50]

Research and experience to date makes it clear that if informal organizations and their leaders have detrimental effects on the functioning of organizations (in most cases, that is true), they have useful consequences also. No management can ever eliminate them, nor can they establish them on their own. It has however been acknowledged that managements can and should influence them and, thereby,

[50]Davis, Kieth, *Informal Organizations* in Koontz, Harold and O'Dennell, Cyril, *Management: A Book of Readings*, McGraw-Hill. New York. 1968. p. 404.

try to integrate the private interests of informal groups with those of the formal organizations.

"Resistance to change from informal organizations"—remains number one problem for managements, the world over. But, Peter Drucker has a solution and that is: the 'innovative organization'.

The innovative organization, he says, casts top management into a different role. In the traditional/bureaucratic organization, for example, top management is the final judge. Their most important power is the 'veto power', as caricatured in the below-mentioned jingle that is reported to have appeared, once upon a time, on the bulletin-board at the Unilever Headquarters (a multi-national) in London:

Along this road
From root to crown
ideas flow up
and vetoes down.

In the innovative organization, the role of management is just the opposite, *i.e.*, not to reject the ideas of those below but to listen to them *seriously* and use them to stimulate its own vision. They meet with the younger and junior staff in scheduled sessions and ask: Well, tell us what do you want to say about this organization, your own job and our job. A simple rule of these meetings is that the 'authority of command' is absent and instead 'shared responsibility' is stressed. These sessions presuppose that whatever (no matter how absurd) comes up in these sessions shall never be dismissed as unwanted. The attitude is always: What underlies this idea and how could it be made practical.

In this way, Drucker points out, the innovative organization 'formalizes' the 'informal organization'. It builds, so to speak, a nervous system next to the bony skeleton of the formal one. While the traditional one is focused on the 'logic of work', the innovative is focused on the 'logic of ideas'.

The writings of a good number of behavioural scientists in the West (Rensis Likert, for example) in recent years indicate earnest attempts to integrate the 'formal' with the

'informal' organization with a view to producing the blue-print of an 'ideal organization'.

At this point, it is necessary to underline yet another key variable of the 'psychosocial milieu' viz., organization leadership" or the "directing side of the enterprise". This variable is of great importance because after managerial tasks like 'planning' 'structuring', etc. have been taken care of, and the 'implementation' phase of a project arrives, it is this factor that has a significant impact on the outcome of the project. The behaviour and attitudes/values of the top man have a lot to do with the moods and motivations of the workforce and, as management experts have noted, differences in output of two groups are often due to differences in the managerial style and practices.

There is considerable literature on this subject today. For a long time it was widely believed that leaders were born or leadership was a monopoly of the aristocracy in a given society. With the rise of ideas like egalitarianism, and the accompanying emergence of new leadership it began to be realized that leaders are made, not born.

In the management literature, research on the phenomenon of leadership has also focused on different approaches at different times. For example, studies done quite some time back got everyone thinking that leadership in organizations was a function of certain 'personality traits',[51] *i.e.*, if any particular individual possessed traits like good health, intelligence, self-confidence, will-power, dominance, etc., he was a good leader, otherwise not. A few years later, this conceptualization began to undergo a change when new researches[52] showed that an individual leadership did not operate in isolation; it was involved with the structure of a given 'group' (followers) and, therefore, an effective leader was one who took into account the problems, needs and attitudes of his followers. A third view[53]—which is also the latest—has since emerged

[51]Stogdill, R.M., "Personal Factors associated with Leadership", *Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 25, 1948, pp. 35-71.

[52]Likert, Rensis, *New Patterns of Management*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1961.

[53]Fiedler, F.E., "A Contingency Model of Leadership Effectiveness", in Berkowitz, L., (ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Academic Press, New York, 1964.

which points out that there are three "basic and delineable factors in any leadership phenomena:

(*a*) the leader,
(*b*) the situation, and
(*c*) the followers.

The term 'situation' has been variously used by researchers to denote an activity or a particular set of activities undertaken by a group; group characteristics/goals/needs and even the cultural context. Thus, in order to understand: (*a*) the leadership *process* it is necessary to consider the 'personality of the leader,' in relation to (*b*) the characteristics of the situation, and (*c*) the personalities of the followers.

A word of qualification must however be noted here. The latest theory is not based upon a total rejection of the two earlier theories; on the other hand, it attempts to partake something from each (psychological attributes of the *leader*, and the needs/attitudes of the *followers*) and then synthesize them with the newly-discovered factor, 'situation'.

Thinking on the subject of leadership has also centered around 'managerial assumptions' about nature of man and human behaviour in formal organizations. For example, the Scientific Management school operated on the assumption that a worker's motivations were dominated by their economic interests. The Behavioural school emphasized the 'social needs' of employees. A new set of managerial assumptions were popularized by Douglas McGregor.[54] He labelled these assumptions as 'Theory X' and 'Theory Y':

Theory X: The average man dislikes work and avoids it when he can and, therefore, he must be directed, coerced if management is to ensure his working towards organizational goals;

Theory Y: The average person finds work as natural and pleasant as rest and play and, thus, can be relied upon to be productive at work if he is not alienated by unfavour-

[54]McGregor, Douglas, *The Human Side of Enterprise, op. cit ,* Ch. 3 and 4.

able productive at work, if he is not alienated by un--favourable organizational policies and boss behaviour.

It is my contention that these two sets of assumptions by McGregor may be valid for Western bosses but it is doubtful if most of Indian bosses think along these lines and make such assumptions about their subordinates in governmental organizations. In fact, a set of premises, developed by Appley, seem to fit the empirical reality in India better. He lists them as follows:

Savagery—The other fellow is my enemy and should be destroyed;

Slavery—The otherfellow is an object to be used for my purposes and discarded when used up;

Servitude—The other fellow will serve me for a consideration and ask no more;

Paternalism—I will help the other fellow improve his lot without asking what put him in his present state;

Statesmanship—The other fellow has capabilities and abilities which can be developed and it is my job to help him develop them.[55]

The last of the above said five premises, namely, 'Statesmanship' seems to have a striking resemblance with the assumptions underlying theory Y. There may be an ever-growing number of such bosses in the West but this cannot be said of Indian organizational scene, more so of the governmental sector. On the contrary, the Case Problem 3 (Ch. 3) I submit, is a suggestive paradigm of the leadership style of a typical government official in India.

The behaviour-pattern and attitudes most of them exhibit appear to fit the categories of 'slavery' and 'servitude'. The explanation for such styles is not far to seek. Despite a broad industrial base, video or pop music culture, India is, basically, a feudal society and feudal values are deeply entrenched. At heart, the boss is an autocrat and his standards of conduct and propriety are partly the result of socialization in the

[55]Appley, L., *Management: The Simple Way*, American Management Association, New York, 1951.

larger system and partly due to the internal authoritarian structure. It is not uncommon to come across administrators who, after an exposure to Western values like 'participative management', may intellectually accept the superiority of such concepts but such obeisance is limited to only lip service. Decades of cultural conditioning cannot, after all, be washed out by a couple of weeks of learning through 'sensitivity training' labs in a classroom.

An analyst of the 'psychosocial milieu' inside a governmental organization shall have, therefore, to make himself aware of the different sets of assumptions prevailing or operating in a specific organization and then explore the ramifications of their effects on the functioning of the organization.

Expressing his thoughts on the value of good organizational leadership, Drucker says:

> The spirit of an organization is created from the top. If an organization is great in spirit, it is because of the spirit of its top people is great. If it decays, it does so because the top rots; as the proverb has it: Trees die from the top.[56]

He also identifies his perception of an 'ideal leader'. I must say that he is rather blunt:

> Leadership is of utmost importance. Indeed, there is no substitute for it. . . . But if he lacks in character and integrity—no matter how knowledgeable, how brilliant, how successful—he destroys. He destroys people, the most valuable resource of the enterprise. He destroys spirit. He destroys performance.[57]

FROM 'THEORY' TO 'PRACTICE'

Let us summarize here some of the most important implications of what we have learnt from theory for the benefit of a practising public official in India.

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[56]Drucker, P.F., *The Practice of Management, op. cit.*, p. 136.
[57]*Ibid.*

First, he needs a new way of thinking about organizations and that is the 'system's approach' in their analysis as well as operation. This approach tells him that all the sub-systems of an organization are inter-connected, inter-related and inter-acting. If one of them changes, the others tend to change as well. Or, if one of them is malfunctioning, it is likely to affect the efficiency of others. Therefore, it is necessary for all the key men in an organization to know all the 'relationships' within it, (a 'system' may have only five or seven subsystems but it may have scores of 'relationships'). Thus, this approach encourages an official *not* to think in terms of his immediate environment, say, "my unit and its interests" but, instead, in terms of overall organizational interests".

For example, a look at Ch. 6 will show that when the DTP's unit is unable to deal with disturbances like unauthorized structures in its environment, another related unit, HUDA's Estate Office, also a part of the common 'managerial system' at the Headquarters (see chart, p. 86) is hesitant to share its resources with the DTP's unit, even though, as per System's definition, all parts are 'shared parts' and when they are not shared, the system does not exist and the effectiveness of the system 'as a whole' (planned urban development in the town) suffers.

Second, the 'mechanistic' (static) and 'organic' (dynamic) structure-designs—the most talked-about in the literature today—are the two extremes of a continuum. An awareness of these two approaches should provide him with 'levers' with which he can move his organization in desired direction, depending on whether it is operating in 'stable' or 'unstable' environment.

The problem with a typical government organization (old or new) in India, however is that once the die of an organizational structure has been cast, it is not easy to modify it. Scratch the surface of most of these organizations and you find operating underneath old, creaking structures and obsolete technology (rules/procedures dating back to colonial days). The general tendency amongst administrators is not to make any attempt to detect and correct deficiencies. This attitude issues from a variety of factors: lack of commit-

ment to the organization (as also the larger system of which it is a part) and its goals, inadequacy of management knowledge or plain escapism. He looks upon the organization merely as a source of monthly income and the accompanying perks and privileges. He blames everything on the 'system' without realizing that he, too, is a part of that system—contributing, in his own way, to the continuing malaise.

He must, therefore, move away from this "once justified, always justified" approach about organization structures. Seymour Tilles suggests a very radical innovation:

> ... most organizations would probably contribute enormously to their own progress if they burned their existing organization charts and manuals.[58]

"Too wild a statement" to make—Tilles admits, but he believes that this is the only way that managements would be free to think about meaningful systems.

Analysis of the DTP's Unit in Ch. 6 & 7 clearly mirrors structural problems in several situations (its own level as well as in regard to its relationship with higher echelon). There is too much concentration of authority at the top and this indicates that the organization concerned (State Department of Town and Country Planning) has 'classical' tones.

Schumacher, who served as economic adviser to the British Coal Board for 20 long years, offers a succinct insight into the difference between a decentralized and centralized organization:

> The structure of an organization can be symbolized by a man holding a large number of balloons in his hands. Each of the balloons has its own buoyancy and lift and the man himself does not lord it over the balloons but stands underneath them, yet holding all the strings firmly in his hands. Every balloon is not only an administrative but also an *entrepreneurial* unit. The monolithic organization, by con-

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[58]Tilles, Seymour, "The Manager's Job: A Systems' Approach," in Hampton, David R., *Modern Management: Ideas and Issues,* Dickenson Publishing Co., Belmont, Calif., 1969, p. 15.

trast, might be symbolized by a Christmas tree, with a star at the top and a lot of nuts and other useful things underneath. Everything derives from the top and depends on it.[59]

Most governmental bodies in India are like a 'Christmas tree'. And, when within them only a small group of people at the top have the authority to create a structure, to establish/evaluate/revise rules, procedures, leaving the middle-level and first-line officials out, the top is sure to lose contact with creativity or innovation which make organizations tick.

In the West, the progressive organizations have already begun to establish what they call the 'dual structure': (1) a 'habit structure' for getting the. . . daily work done; and (2) a 'reflective' structure—for stimulating perspective and personal enrichment. In one organization, they have set up as many as five 'reflective structures' formed outsides the regular/habit structure for the purpose of continuously evaluating five task activities basic to the organization. They report directly to the top man, although their reports are made public throughout the organization. Membership in each includes all levels and functions and employees are rotated through these groups on a six-month basis.[60]

"Planned development in a town" can also be envisaged as a 'system' made up of several interdependent institutions and individuals and groups, such as, the local body, the DTP's unit, private colonizers, civil courts, individual house-owners, etc. The pattern of 'interdependency' amongst them is 'reciprocal' (p. 28) and the single actor in this assemblage that can play a crucial role in maintaining the viability of this conception of system is: the civil courts. But, by issuing a spate of 'stay orders' (Ch. 1&6) in favour of parties indulging in unauthorized constructions or illegal sale of land in controlled areas, they appear to threaten the very

[59]Schumacher, E.F., *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*, Blond & Briggs Ltd., London, 1976, p. 229.

[60]Criener, Larry, E., "Evolution and Revolution as Organization Grow" in Miles, Robert H. and Randolph, Alan W., *The Organization Game: A Simulation in Organizational Behaviour, Design, Change and Development, op. cit.*, p. 71.

survival of the system. It is obvious that mere enforcement of planning units is not enough. Judicial review with the same perspective (*i.e.*, planned urban development) is equally essential; indeed, in the present Indian context, it is vital. Highlighting the manner in which the civil courts were affecting the very direction of urban development in India and also advocating the necessary institutional reforms, Jagmohan, the former Vice-Chairman of Delhi Development Authority and presently Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, has this to say:

> As part of the institutional reform, new legal arrangements need to be formulated with a view to avoiding undue interference from the civil courts and, at the same time, enabling the citizens to obtain redress of their grievances against misuse of authority. The jurisdiction of the civil courts should be barred. Instead, special tribunals should be set up. These tribunals will not have the powers to grant stay orders but will have the powers to grant exemptions from the requirements of levying court fees in suits claiming damages from the civic bodies or development authorities.[61]

It is not at all difficult to spotlight defects in HUDA's structure, either. Slow decision-making process at the Headquarters is a concrete illustration (Ch. 5, 6&7). As a result, idleness of staff at the district level seems to have become a regular feature—an enormous drain on scarce organizational resources. There are several other hidden costs the organization has to bear. Another victim of this "concentrated power-structure is the Superintending Engineer—a very important functionary in that administrative machine—who is hamstrung by the inability (for want of proper delegation of powers) to affect an orderly arrangement of tasks and manpower at his level.

As the description elsewhere in this chapter implies, understanding of the 'psychosocial milieu' is also a must for an or-

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[61]Jagmohan, *The Challenge of Our Cities*, Sardar Memorial Lectures 1983, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1984, p. 47.

ganizational analyst if he is to come to grips with the complexities of the total system. He must ferret out, for example, the 'informal organization' conditions through observation, investigation and, if possible, by charting them. Being a 'human' system, it is perhaps the most complicated building block of organization—because of the multiplicity and diversity of variables involved (individual and group interests triggered off by human needs such as, security, belonging, power, status, growth and development, etc.). It is this very complexity of the throbbing, pulsating, psychosocial subsystem that led Schumacher to make the following observation:

> Administration is really a very, very difficult job. In the coal industry in Britain, we all wished we were mining engineers: that is an easy job where you have to grapple with 'dead matter'. But to grapple with 'living matter', that's much more difficult.[62]

The Indian environment is indifferent to innovation than is the Western environment. Peter Drucker was not wide of the mark when he observed: Innovation has been the real frontier of the Western world these past two centuries. What now distinguishes an underdeveloped country—and keeps it underdeveloped—is not so much a shortage of capital as it is shortage of innovation.

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[62]Schumacher, E.F., *Good Work*, Jonathan, Cape, London, 1979, pp. 68-9

2 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

EXPLODING CITIES

Big cities in most developing countries (that follow the Western model of development) are under tremendous pressure—of, among other things, a rising tide of migrant workers and ever-mushrooming squatters' settlements, resulting in a whole series of human and socio-economic complications. In a way, the appalling conditions in which the urban poor live there are the 20th century version of the squalid conditions in the industrial cities in England in the 19th century—the cities that came in for condemnation both by Marx and Engles (though in a wider context). The tragedy of these exploding cities in that they have neither the facilities nor the resources to get out of this deepening malaise.

Notwithstanding the close parallel between the thinking of Gandhi[1] and Mao Tse-tung[2] on Western type of industrialization and urbanization and their rejection of that model of development much earlier (Mao, for example, advocated a "bottom-up" approach[3] or what he called the "urbanization

[1] When once asked if he would like an independent India to be like Britain, Gandhi is reported to have replied: "If it took Britain half the resources of the world to be what it is today, how many worlds would India need?"—Quoted by Tolba, Mostafa K. "World Population Increase Our Dangerous Opportunity" in *Development and Cooperotion*, No. 5/1984, September-October, published by the German Foundation for International Development (DSE), Bonn, p. 16 Also see Kirpalani, J.B. "Decentralized Economy" in *Gandhian Thought*, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 158-167.

[2] Imfeld, Al, *China as a Model of Development*, published by Imba Verlag, Avenue de Beauregard, 4, CH-1701, Freiburg, Switzerland; also see Harvey, David "Social Justice and the City", Edward Arnold, 1973, Chap. 7.

[3] Deyin, Yu and Zongfen, Sun *The Strategic Objective of Urban Deve-*

of the countryside and ruralization of the cities"), the seminal idea about the use of *carefully-planned* small towns in check-mating the rural exodus can probably be ascribed to E.F. Schumacher. Writing way back in 1973, in his widely-noticed book "Small is Beautiful", he drew the attention of development planners all over the world to the existence in developing countries of 'dual economies' (of the 'cities' and the 'hinterland') and the process of their on-going "mutual poisoning". Explaining what he meant by this, he said:

> . . . successful industrial development in the cities destroys the economic structure of the hinterland, and the hinterland takes its revenge by mass migration into the cities, poisoning them and making them unmanageable".[4]

Pointing out that dealing with this kind of urban growth "would tax the resources of even the richest societies", he called for a new commitment on the part of developing nations to deal with the gravity of the problem. He stated:

> It is necessary, therefore, that at least an important part of the development effort should by-pass the big cities and be directly concerned with the creation of agro-industrial structure in the rural and small town areas".[5]

Since then some other writers (James Osborn,[6] Basaldua,[7]

(*Continued from previous page*)

lopment in China: Taking Vigorous Action to Develop Small Cities" and Banerjee, Tridib, Schenk, Sigrid and Wickham William, "The Bottom—UP Approach to the Development of Lower Order Cities: Learning from China", in Mathur, Om Prakash (ed.), *Role of Small Cities and National Development*, Papers presented at the Expert Group Meeting on the Role of Small and Intermediate Cities in National Development, held at Nagoya, January 26 to February 1, 1982, United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Nagoya, Japan.

[4]Schumacher, E.F., *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*, Blond & Briggs, London, 1973, p. 156

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 161.

[6]Osborn, James, *Area Development Policy and the Middle City in Malaysia*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1974, p. 14.

[7]Basaldua, Raul Oscar "Policy and Institutional Aspects of Rural

and Barbara Ward[8]) have also favoured the development of small and medium towns as a valuable antidote to the pull of the big cities. Barbara Ward, an eminent British scholar, for example, has observed:

> The point is to diversify that order, to slow down by positive measures the rural exodus, to build up intermediate centres... The need must be faced, if necessary to use disincentives to reduce and redirect the rural flow away from the biggest concentrations; such a policy has been adopted in China, and however repugnant to the pure theory of liberalism, some direction of movement, as in wartime, may be a lesser evil than the alternative price, which can be death, by cholera, of the jobless and shelterless on a city pavement.[9]

In other words, what Barbara Ward seems to be suggesting is that adoption of 'Chinese style restrictions' should be quite in order if these alone can save millions of urban poor in developing countries from the harsh realities of life they face today (like slow death on pavements) and assure them of a civilised existence.

Amongst the developing nations that are presently trying to build up their intermediate towns in an organized fashion are: Japan, Kenya, South Korea, the Philippines, socialist China, and, of course, India.

THE INDIAN RESPONSE: IDSMT SCHEME

If India's Fifth Five-Year Plan (1974-79) indicated its pre-

(Conttnoed from previous page)
Development" (paper given at the Town and Country Planning Summer School, Not thingham University, September 1976), quoted in Turner, Byalan (ed.) *To Cities of the Poor*, Croom Helm, London, p. 24; Also see: Declaration of the Vancouver Symposium on Habitat, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, 1976; World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 209, (Washington, July 1975), *The Task Ahead for the Cities of the Developing Countries*.

[8]Ward, Barbara, *The Home of Man*, Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1976.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 190.

ference for concentration of development effort on the big cities, the Sixth Plan (1980-85) showed its bias for the small and medium-sized towns. The national strategy that came out of the throes of this 'bias' was named the "Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns Scheme" (IDSMT).

The curtain on the IDSMT Scheme, on country-wide basis, was raised during the year 1979-80. The intention of the Scheme was to exploit the relatively favourable potentialities (physical and economic) of some of these towns and to build them up as growth centres so that they could not only stop the migration of the rural poor to larger cities but also provide certain services to their hinterland and, thus, lead to the balanced development of the whole district and region.

The Scheme was aimed at towns with a population of less than one lakh (1971 census) with preference given to district headquarter-towns, subdivisional towns and mandi towns. Under the Scheme, the Central Government was to offer loan assistance—Rs. 40 lakh per town—to State Governments/Union Territories for specific items of development (say, land acquisition, traffic and transport improvements, development of mandis, low cost sanitation, etc.), provided the latter were prepared to make a matching contribution to bring about these improvements, such as, slum developments, small-scale employment generation, low-cost water-supply/ drainage, preventive health care, and so on (Appendix I).

There were some 'strings' attached to the Central assistance, namely, availability of an integrated plan for the development of the selected town, enactment of a comprehensive town and country planning act, and *appropriate changes in organizational structures, rules and procedures of the concerned agencies that would help to implement the Scheme with speed.* Given a five-year life span, the Scheme has had a slow start and really took off only in 1980-81. By the end of March, 1985, 235 towns stood covered by the Scheme in 22 States and six Union Territories. (Appendix II).

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

When a faculty meeting of the IIPA's Centre for Urban Studies (CUS) decided in January 1983, to float a new train-

ing programme for the benefit of State/Local level agencies involved in the implementation of the IDSMT Scheme, the consensus was that since, far too often, an average governmental agency in India falls short of what it is expected to achieve, the focus of the new training programme should be on people who manage the IDSMT-concerned agencies and the skills they require to operate these organizations. The basic problem—the participants felt—is: 'management'.

It was, however, pointed out that in order to make such training adequately realistic, a research effort should, first, be made to uncover management/organizational problems of some of these agencies so that the results obtained can then be used to relate 'management theory' to 'practice' and to equip the operating officials with the necessary knowledge to plan, structure and lead their systems toward the stated IDSMT-goals. The dominant view in the meeting was that these officials must be helped to acquire the ability to analyze their organizational problems in a systematic manner, to ask the right questions and to know what are the critical factors that would make all the difference in making their organizations work better. After all, it is only an effective organization that would try to utilize scarce resources (both 'human' and 'non-human') well and thereby contribute much to the 'integrated development' of a given town.

The original intention was to carry out investigations in two or three towns in different States and to make it a comparative study. This could not, however, materialize because when the CUS approached Union Ministry of Works and Housing—the national 'instrument' to deal with problems of urban development—for financial backing, there was some difficulty in getting the necessary funds. As the training programme had already been announced and time was running out fast, the CUS had no option but to undertake the study with its own limited funds; hence, the focus on only one town.

'Karnal', a medium-sized town in the State of Haryana, was picked up for the Study.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

This Study is an attempt to understand and evaluate the

'structural' and the 'human' side of the field machinery that has responsibility for planning and implementing the Centrally-sponsored Scheme, the IDSMT, at Karnal. Of course, the initial effort is first made at mapping of the barebones of the 'super-system' at the State level, if we consider the town-level 'machinery' a 'sub-system'. As the latter is a component of the former and is tied to it in a number of ways, it was vital to recognize the inter-relationships between the two.

Though, in the narrow sense, the focus of the Study is the IDSMT Scheme and its implementation at the town level but the sweep is somewhat broader, because the Study does not merely assess the capability of the administrative machinery from the IDSMT point of view but its 'performance potential' for attaining the organizational objectives, as a whole.

The method used in analyzing the 'structural' element is the one suggested by Peter Drucker.[10] According to him, the structure of an organization is best analyzed in three ways: (1) Activities analysis, (2) Decision analysis, and (3) Relations analysis. He is of the view that only an analysis along these lines can help bring out: what work has to be performed, what work belongs together, what emphasis each activity is to be given in the organization structure, on what levels of the organization certain decisions are being made, what kind of decisions are they and which managers should participate in them, what contribution does a manager have to make to managers to related activities, what contributions these managers have to make to him, etc. Once this analysis is done, it is possible to see the typical stresses and strains in a given structure and to examine whether the structure fits the goals of the organization or not.

'Emotional milieu' prevailing within the organization has been used to analyse the 'human' side of the town-level administrative machinery. This emotional milieu was observed by me both through 'participant-observation' and 'self-report' of the respondents.

The Study is interspersed with several real-life case studies/ problems, aimed at giving an indepth understanding of the

[10]Peter F. Drucker, *The Practice of Management*, Harper & Row, New York, 1956, pp. 194-201.

processes underlying the various dimension of the administrative machinery.

The information for the Study was acquired through intensive interviews, participant observation, and official documents.

3 KARNAL: A SKETCH

Karnal* is no longer a *small,* sleeply town it used to be in 1947 when India decame free. It is now a *medium-sized* town, with its population already having passed the 1,32,000 mark. It has considerably changed during the past 36 years (if the year 1947 is taken as a baseline to understand the growth of the town) and continues to change. Evidence abounds, both in terms of its 'systematic' growth as well as 'illegal' private construction and encroachments on public land along shopping streets, and other places.

PHYSICAL CHARACTER

The history of Karnal's physical growth can be divided into three distinct periods: (1) Pre-1947; (2) 1948-1956; and (3) 1957-1982 (map on next page).

Pre-1947

The 'old part'—typical of old towns elsewhere in India—used to be enclosed, once upon a time, by thick high walls (though now nearly collapsed) and ten large monumental gates. It was dense and congested, having a maze of narrow streets laid out in an irregular manner and winding and cutting through each other. Single, two/three storey houses stood huddled together, wall to wall. It drew (as it does even today) its economic strength largely from commercial and trading functions fed by a rich, agricultural hinterland. The

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*As per the State Gazettee (1976) it is pretty rich in points of historic interests. Foremost amongst these is the belief that the town was founded by Raja Karna of Mahabharta fame and subsequently named after him. There are also: the following ancient monuments: (1) the Old Fort (2) the Buali Shah Qalandar's Tomb; (3) the Mira Sahib's Tomb; (5) St. James Church; and (5) Gurudwara Manji Saheb.

GROWTH OF KARNAL TOWN

Pre-1947

1948-56

1957-84

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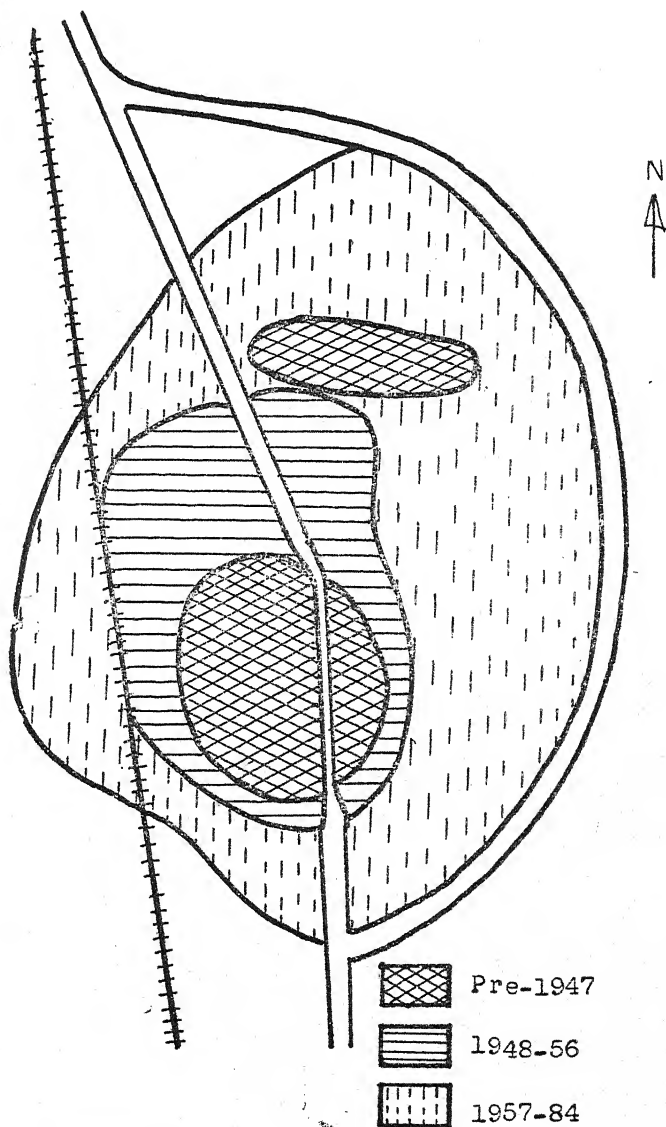
street-fronts of the houses were usually devoted to shops and most traders had shops adjacent to their shops; Incidentally,

this part of the old town still continues to be the heart of the wholesale and retail trade.

The town received its water supply from wells or hand-pumps and many of them still stand at their old places. The living and sanitary conditions inside were (and still are) filthy. Water-drains carrying all the filthy water from the houses (including the human waste if a house was without a dry latrine) emptied into the municipality-provided rain-water drains that ran along the two sides of the streets/bylanes. Street-lighting was obtained from kerosene lamps fixed on the walls or hanging from poles. There was no arrangement for sewage disposal. This was coupled with total absence of any knowledge of public health practices amongst the old town population. There is not much enlightenment on this score even today, for out of roughly 30,000 households crowded in this old part of the town, only obout 3,000 have come forward to take connections from the Municipality-run sewerage system during the past 30 years.

At the time of the partition, the town was fairly young, demographically and had a population of only obout 30,000 persons.

To the north of the old town stood the buildings of certain important public offices (built by the British), such as, the District Courts, the Police Lines, and the Civil Hospital—all parts of what was and is still known as the 'Civil Lines'—an area which continues to be the prestigious core of the town, boasting of large comfortable houses with extensive gardens. In between these public buildings lay small green fields. As time passed, a sprinkling of commercial development took place along the road from old town to the courts, on the one hand, and from the town to the Railway Station, on the other, in a linear fashion.

1947-56

It was this period which saw a rapid rise in population and expansion of the town. The refugees from Pakistan had migrated to the town in large numbers in the second half of 1947. Their sudden arrival literally opened up the town for future expansion. They brought new skills to the town, stirred up the local retail and wholesale trade, and as was natural in

turn, they required appropriate housing and commercial facilities, etc.

A distinctive feature of the pre-1947 times was that beyond the old town and around the Civil Lines area there was a good chunk of encircling agricultural land which was owned by farmers. But, as soon as there was a rise in population, the vacant land lying in that area was soon purchased and converted into residential/commercial usage by private developers.

The period also saw the beginning of 'real estate' as a business and spiralling of land values. Land prices began to take a new value and boomed in sympathy with the rising demand. For example, these jumped up nearly five times between 1947 and 1956 (from Rs. 4 to Rs. 22 per square yard)* and with this increase in land values came increased congestion in certain areas, both in the old town and around it, for during this period density also increased two-fold. The vicious circle in some parts of the town still continues.

The town began to expand toward the west and the northeast, filling in open spaces nearer the town, first. The outskirts were also gradually built up.

Amongst the first new constructions was a refugee colony (called the 'Model Town') laid out, as a makeshift arrangement by the State Rehabilitation Department where the refugees from Pakistan were put up in canvas tents. Amongst them were those who had arrived with 'money' and those with 'little' or 'no' money. While the former began to 'grab' or purchase the municipal 'shamlat' land and build 'pucca' houses, where they were temporarily billeted, the indigent moved across the railway line and started constructing mudhuts with the earth they dug out from the ground closeby. The slow digging operations carried on by hundreds of families went on for years and what were, to begin with, mere 'trenches' or pits gradually looked like massive archaeological excavations (incidentally, they have now taken the shape of two very large and deep ponds of stagnant and foul-smelling

*The prices further moved up to Rs. 44 per sq. yard in 1974-75. The 'official' rate at present is Rs. 180, though in the 'market' it ranges from Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 per sp. yard.

water that stand right in the midst of one of the two largest slums of the town).

The affluent part of the 'Model Town' has since moved up in the socio-economic status in the town and is today peopled by well-to-do businessmen, professionals and others holding white-collar positions.

Urban growth of the town can also be tied to some other unique advantages of the district: a fertile soil, abundance of sweet water, good climate and rainfall suitable for production of a variety of crops. The rapid strides in agricultural production put the district (and the town) ahead of other districts in the State, though it was only third in terms of area and in population.

Some new industrial units, too, brought more people to the town during this period and began to change the nature of the physical expansion of the town. The steadily-increasing number of governmental agencies and higher educational institutions also played their role in pushing up the population. Though location of the abandoned old Moghul canal (now used as a 'natural' drain for the town) acted as a barrier for spread of the town beyond it, yet construction of houses, shops and institutions went on, particularly on the western and the north-eastern sides. By the end of 1956, the town's physical character had the following important landmarks: the National Dairy Research Institute, the Central Soil Salinity Research Institute, the Sugarcane Regional Research Institute, the St. Therasa Convent High School, and the Industrial Training Institute.

1958-1982

It was during this period that several new governmental agencies which played an important part in the past or still continue to do so in the development of the town appeared on the scene. For example, the Karnal Improvement Trust made its debut in the town in the year 1959 and accomplished, during the succeeding years, quite a few projects— though largely shopping schemes, right on the fringe of the old town.

In the meantime, changes in the farm technology in the district had taken place in a big way and the green revolution

in the disrrict had created history all over the country. It shall not be out of place to mention here that amongst all the tehsils in Haryana, 'Karnal tehsil' with 715,174 persons is, population-wise, the biggest in the State and its population exceeds even the total population of Sirsa district as a whole.[1]

There were distinct signs of unauthorized construction of buildings in the not-too-distant rural belt of the town. Anticipating faster development of the town and the areas around it and, suspecting that it might go the wrong way, the State Government declared in 1971 a sizable area around the municipal limits as 'Controlled Area'. Subsequently, an office of the District Town Planner was also set up here for formulation of development plans for several areas in and around the town. An industrial estate, floated by the State Industries department, had also come up.

As population increased, 'housing' the most crying need of the town also received the attention of the State Government during this period. So, in the year 1977 when the State-level agency, the Haryana Urban Development Authority (HUDA) was created, its units started operating at Karnal, too: the 'Urban Estate Unit and the Engineering Wing to acquire land, develop it and then sell the plots to the house-seeking public.

ECONOMIC CHARACTER

For a long time until 1947 and for some years later, the economy of Karnal was largely 'agricultural' and 'commercial', for it was essentially the trade in agricultural produce or products from its hinterland that provided it economic sustenance. It hardly produced any commodity of its own that was fit for marketing elsewhere, and was therefore a kind of a 'parasitic town' living off the labour of those working in the rural areas around it.

What gradually stimulated the shift from its agricultural commercial character to the 'industrial' was a combination of several factors: its rich soil, easy availability of water, government decision to locate research bodies of national

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[1]*Census of India,* 1981; Final Population Totals of Haryana, p. 2.

importance like the National Dairy Institute, the Sugarcane Breeding Centre, the Soil Salinity Research organization and the Regional Research Centre of the Indian Council for Agricultural Research, the subsequent improvements leading to higher outputs in crops like wheat and rice, adoption of new farming technology by the farmers in the area (like tractors, or steel ploughs, tube wells, and threshers, etc.

With 'green revolution' spearheading the town's growth,[2] it was but natural that agro-based industries appeared on the scene. These have since then been in the forefront in a big way. The industrial composition of the town is as follows:

Agricultural Implements making Units (100); Chemical Units (94); Re-Rolling Mills (48); Power looms (66); Furniture Units (14); Surgical Tools (10); Kandsari (8); Fertilizer (7); Hosiery (5); Milk Products (2) Sugar (1) . . . and Others (62).

Though all growing towns/cities have industries of one kind or the other but *Ivan Light* contends that many of them 'have industries that stand out in importance above others' and he calls them the 'basic industries' which, in contrast to others, are 'crucially important to the economic life of the city'.[3]

Karnal's leading 'basic industry'[4] today is: the agro-based implements manufacturing units. These not only provide livelihood to a large number of workers, skilled and unskilled, but have also given the town a sort of supremacy in this field over other towns of Haryana (nearly 60 percent the total output in the entire state is the product of units located in this town).

[2]Now reported to be on the thresh hold of a 'white revolution'.

[3]Ivan Light, *Cities in World Perspective*, Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc , New York, 1983, p. 29.

'Non-basic industries', according to him, are those that do not generate revenue from beyond the city's limit; or most customers are local. For example, grocery stores, he says, are non-basic.

[4]Panipat, another flourishing town barely 30 kms. away from Karnal, also depends on a particular 'basic industry', *i.e.*, the 'handloom industry' which brings into that town every year a sizable revenue.

Another upcoming industry in the town is shoe-making and this, along with the high-class variety of 'basmati rice' the district produces, are fast becoming important foreign-exchange earners for the country.

How 'public administration' has contributed to the growth of the town is indicated by the concentration of as many as 72 State Government agencies, 13 Central Government offices, 24 Public Corporations/Boards in the town.

The functioning of the branches of 18 banks today (in 1947 there were only five) is yet another proof of the economic development of the town over the years.

The principal items of trade in town are: sugar, shoes, dairy products, etc. and there are three large 'mandis' operating within the municipal limits handling their trade. Though some ten years ago the number of shops in the town were in the region of 5,000 but since then construction of shops has been going on an enormous scale (of course, largely haphazard and illegal).

Although the economic health of the town is believed to be reasonably good, a Note prepared by the District Town Planner's Office at the time of submission of a project report to the Central Government for funds under the IDSMT Scheme, listed the following strengths and weaknesses of the Town:

Strong in case of: (*a*) labour supply, (*b*) marketing facilities, (*c*) transport and communications but *weak* in terms of, (*a*) availability of raw materials, and (*b*) finance.

SOCIOLOGICAL CHARACTER

While only an in-depth study can reveal whether or not Karnal as a medium-sized town has acquired the character of an 'integrated', closely-knit unit in the physical or economic sense, but it can be stated without any shadow of doubt that it is certainly not 'sociologically integrated' for nearly 20 per cent of its inhabitants are reported to be living in slums and therefore stand segregated from the better living environment in the town.

There are ten (10) slums in all, of varying sizes, with seven

of these located on the periphery of the town and three inside it. These slums came almost as appendages of the commercial/industrial and physical growth of the town over the years. Nearly all of them are located on the edge of a long "ganda nala" (in local parlance) that carries in it a part of the filth of the town. It goes without saying that with the elementary sanitary services being non-existent in most of them the squalid living conditions within them therefore not only pose a permanent threat to the health and lives of the slum-dwellers but also to the 'quality of life' of the town, as a whole.

Herded into the slums are majority of such people who form the lowest layer of social strata of the society in the town-people with irregular or the poorest-paying jobs, say, the rag pickers, petty craftsman, private household workers, cobblers, rickshaw pullers, industrial workers, municipal scavengers or those *Marx* described as the "industrial reserve army" of a capitalist economy[5] (that unemployed sector of the working class which can be called into action when necessary and relieved when no longer needed but that is always available).

Of the ten slums, two are the largest: Ram Nagar and Prem Nagar across the railway line. A good number of settlements in these two slums are built around two large ponds of stagnant, filthy water containing all kinds of defilements (see page 59), and these are nothing more than hovels of crumbling earthern walls and straw roofs. These huts do not measure more than 4 sq. meters and are without any windows/ventilators, with sunlight not penetrating sufficiently. The saga of suffering these mud-hut dwellers go through truly make a heart-rending story. As told by an old lady:

During the rainy season, the heavy rains always demolish the walls of our huts. Sometimes, we have to either sit through the whole night or remain busy draining out the water with buckets—with small children joining their parents.

[5]Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume I, International Publishers, New York, 1967, p. 832.

The heads of 20 families I spoke to in different slums and who have lived there for the past 30-odd years were of the view that so far as the basic amenities of urban life are concerned, "we appear to have been excluded by the authorities in the town". One of them said:

Take the water-supply: if it was a problem for my family 25 years back, it is still a major problem for us. Our women have to walk quite a distance (1 to 2 kilometers) to fetch water from the railway station in earthern pitchers on their heads. In the rainy season when the ground gets muddy, the harship is all the more worse.

A widow, having lost her husband barely a year ago and shattered by the daily experience of hauling water complained:

The long distance between my hut and the nearest municipal tap is enough to cause terrible fatigue to me. As I am the only bread-earning member of my family, I don't feel like going to work sometimes. But if I don't go, who shall feed my little children?.

But, if 'drinking water' was a constant problem, so was schooling for the children. Private schools in the town which have a reputation for good teaching are beyond their reach. Twelve families who sent their children to the government schools admitted that they had to pull back to children to make them supplement the income of the families. Four said that their children left the schools on their own and turned vagrant, occasionally doing work but mostly loafing around. Of the remaining four families, only two had their children still attending the school; in the case of the others two, it were all 'girls' and the fathers said: they are not vary serious about their studies; the girls better help their mothers at home in household chores.

Health problems are equally critical for the slum dwellers. In the entire town there are only three municipal dispensaries, two allopathic and one ayurvedic. Of these, one allopathic dispensary is located in one of the mud-hut

colonies but it is always overcrowded. Besides, medicines and other equipment are hardly adequate. So far as the other slum colonies are concerned, this small dispensary is not within their easy reach as distance is a serious handicap.

If drinking water, schools and disensaries are rare, the street-light is also missing from most of them. Of course, there is no question of most of the squatters obtaining electricity connections for their huts because the wires shall just not easily hang on to mud walls.

There is also lack of recreational facilities within the slum settlements. As one walks through the narrow, haphazard lanes, or jumping over puddles of dirty water, or side-stepping small areas littered with human waste or sniffing through the foul air, the total effect is that of an unclean and offensive atmosphere.

The local Municipal Committee has, of course, been giving some attention to these slum areas over the years with whatever financial assistance it has received from the State Government but these efforts have been largely the kind of occasional, upgrading projects aimed at only small segments of these colonies and not as a total solution for the ever exacerbating problem (see Case Problem No. 4, p. 147).

In the early part of the year 1980, the then young energetic Municipal Secretary carried out a systematic socio-economic survey in Sukhdev Nagar (a shanty within Ram Nagar) and worked out a detailed project report. The intention was to bring about an improvement in the living conditions of about 2,000 people who were without street light, water supply, drainage system, paved streets. Prepared for submission to the State Local Self-government Department, the scheme envisaged, *inter alia,* a provision of 2-room dwellings for each family to be built by it on easy loan terms. The scheme was finally sent to the State Government in October 1980. There were some queries and objections from the Headquarters. But, that was the last of what has been heard of the scheme since then.

An interesting feature of the slum-dwellers here is that while the entire population living in there appears to have been bypassed by the 'urban development' taking place in the town or may be they are victims of the structural injus-

tices of the larger social system, but this slum population in the town is not a homogeneous population in itself. Apart from composed of diverse elements (people from Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Bihar, Eastern U.P., and of course the locals), it is a stratified collectivity. Within the internal milieu here, it is possible to see: (*a*) those who live in destitution, (*b*) the better-offs with pucca small houses, and (*c*) the half-way cases putting up with precarious housing and living conditions, like the mud-hut dwellers.

There is no slum-dwellers association/union to ventilate their grievances. Once or twice some of them, in small groups did call on the Deputy Commissioner to draw his attention to their hardships but of no avail.

When asked if they expected a change in their living conditions in the near future, none of the heads of the 20 families I spoke to believed that things would improve. All of them viewed slums as a permanent place of their settlement.

Other Striking Features

The town is situated on the National Highway No. 1, and is well connected with road and rail with Delhi (only 130 kms. away) and other major towns/cities in the country, both distant and nearby. It is also one of the few mediumsized towns in this region that has direct dialling telephone-system with Delhi and other important trade centres. The town has in recent years gained regional/national tourist importance as well because of excellent motel/restaurant facilities available here and is well within the range of television programmes transmitted from Delhi. It is also very well linked with its immediate hinterland by means of a network of roads. It even boasts of an air-strip which is used for glider training as well as for landing of small VIP aircrafts.

As a district-headquarters town, Karnal is full of development programmes or activities thereof that are designed to serve their various clients and purposes within the town and through out the district. Some of these are:

1. Special Livestock Production Programme run by the Department of Animal Husbandry;

2. Mini-Dairy Scheme run by Milk Commissioner, Haryana;
3. Rural Industrialization Scheme run by Department of Industries;
4. Integrated Child Development Programme, run by the Union Department of Social Welfare;
5. Clearance of Slum-Dwellers Scheme, run by the Municipality of Karnal;
6. Training and Visiting Programme in the Department of Agriculture (funded by the World Bank);
7. 20-Point Programme of the Central Government; and
8. Special Rural Development Programmes run by the District Rural Development Agency; and, of course,
9. Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns Scheme.

'Town' within a Town

Model Town is a 'special' locality within the municipal boundaries of Karnal town. It is special because even though the people living in it are 'legally' part of the larger town, and by virtue of their economic and social ties are components of a single urban community, and while their every other need such as sewage disposal, drainage, fire-fighting, sanitation, parks, etc., are all provided and maintained by the Karnal Municipal Committee, yet its "water need" is being met from an independently-run water supply system by the State Rehabilitation Department for the past 30-odd years. It has been the continuous complaint of the local municipality all these decades that the control of water supply in the Model Town, in all fairness, should pass to it but the Rehabilitation Department is reported to be dragging its feet in the matter. The two bodies, it appears, have not been able to agree so far on what terms the assets should be transferred from one to the other.

As noted elsewhere in this report, the Model Town is the name of that locality in Karnal that was set up by the State Rehabilitation Department in 1947 to temporarily 'house' the refugees from Pakistan.

Population and Future Growth

The table below shows the population trends in the town for every decade since 1941. It shows that the population has been steadily growing every ten years, though it register-ed a phenomenal increase during 1941-51 (primarily because of the influx of refugees from Pakistan). The subsequent growth in the population of the town has been ascribed to factors, like, its strategic location on the National Highway and its close association with the 'green' and 'white' revolu-tion in the State.

Year	Population	Percentage Variation
1941	37,444	—
1951	59,750	(+) 60
1961	72,109	(+) 20.7
1971	92,784	(+) 29.1
1981	1,32,067	(+) 42.3

Around the turn of the present century (1901) the popula-tion of the town is reported to have been around 23,000 persons. It grew to 72,109 and 92,784 in the years 1961 and 1971 respectively, indicating a decennial population growth of approx. 30 per cent. Estimating the then (November 1983) population around 1.40 lakhs, and considering the town's induced-growth potential in the years to come, the rate of the population increases for the decade 1981-1991 has been assumed to be 5 per cent per annum. This should suggest a population of about 2 lakhs by the year 1991 and 3 lakhs by 2001. Thus, the authorities responsible for urban planning and development of the town are taking this figure of "three lakhs" as their projection of the population reality in working out their development schemes until the end of the 20th century.

DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK OF THE TOWN FOR NEXT 20 YEARS

For purposes of effective urban planning and development, the Department of Town & Country Planning, Haryana,

declared in 1971, a sizeable area (roughly 8 kms) around the municipal limits of Karnal as "Controlled Area" under Section 4 (i) (a) of the Punjab Scheduled Roads and Controlled Areas (Restriction of Unregulated Development) Act, 1963. Accordingly, a 'development plan' for the town has been framed. It shall be helpful to first have an idea of the existing land-use:

Existing Land-use

The present municipal area comprises an area of 1280 hectares. Its existing land-use is as follows:

Residential	594	Hect.
Commercial	82	,,
Industrial	16	,,
Transport and communication	74	,,
Public and semi public uses	454	,,
Open spaces	60	,,
	1280	

As is evident from above, the major land-uses are for residential areas, followed by public institutions, like, education and health.

The area outside the municipal limit is predominantly 'rural' in nature. However, there is at present haphazard linear development of industries along major roads.

Proposed Land-use

The prespective set for the physical development of the town spans the next 20 years period. Considering the growth rate of town's populations during the coming decades as 5 per cent per annum, the projected population of the town has been assumed to be around 2 lakhs by 1991 AD.

Two main barriers have proved to be serious obstacles for town's growth towards the 'west' and the 'north': the Ambala-Delhi railway line and the National Dairy Research Institute's sprawling campus respectively. So, it can expand only towards the other two directions: the south and the east,—though the present trend is towards the southern side,

i.e., along the G.T. Road towards Delhi but there are low-lying areas in this direction. Thus, the major thrust of development has been planned on the 'eastern' side of the G.T. Road byepass. In addition, some suitable areas in-between G.T. Road and the railway line have also been included. The proposed development had been suggested to be carried out in two phases,—i.e., during the past decade 1971-81 and the current one, 1981-91. Amongst the schemes are: an industrial complex with a park acting as a buffer between the proposed complex and the existing town; a ring road skirting the proposed development and the existing town and an agricultural belt to the north.

An area of approximately 2,208 hectares (including the area within the municipal limits) has been proposed for development. One of the objectives is to reduce the density rate from 675 persons to 100 persons per hectare in the town. The extent of major land-use proposals upto 1991 AD. are given below:

Land Use	Area within Controlled Area	Area within Municipal Limits	Total Area in Hectares
1. Residential	512	594	1,106
2. Commercial	18	82	100
3. Industrial	156	16	172
4. Transport and Communication	56	74	130
5. Public and Semi-public Uses	—	454	454
6. Open spaces	186	60	246

Description of Proposed Land-uses

Residential

The entire residential area (1,106 hectares) has been divided into 10 new residentinl sectors which shall be self-contained for daily needs, such as, shopping, education, health and other community facilities.

Commercial

Though there are sufficient existing commercial areas to

meet the needs of the present population, the organized sector shopping areas shall cater to the needs of the future population. An additional provision of 14 hects. in the municipal limits and 18 hects. within the controlled area has been made.

Industrial

The industrial undertakings, to be set up over the proposed 156 hectares, shall be expected to provide employment to approximately 12,000 workers (75 per hectare). The industrial complex has been so sited as to give it access to both the railway siding as well as the proposed ring road.

Transport and Communication

A Transport Nagar (a part of which is being developed under the IDSMT Scheme) in Sector IV has been planned.

Roads

To solve the existing and anticipated traffic problems in future, a specific road net work (a combination of grid-iron and spider-web pattern) has been proposed.

Public and Semi-public Uses

An area of about 32 hects. has been proposed for construction of a mini secretariat* in Sector 12 within municipal limits. An additional area of about 8 hects. stands reserved for the construction of a government college building in sector 14.

Open Spaces

The present population is served by two parks and a big stadium. In order to cater to the future needs, it is proposed to develop the low-lying area towards the south of the old town (within sectors 16 and 17). In addition, there shall be the green belts of varying width on either sides of the roads in the urbanised area.

Agricultural Zone

The remaining area surrounding the ones mentioned above

*Now the nomenclature changed to 'commercial and civic complex'.

shall be reserved as an 'agricultural zone'. This shall not however mean the elimination of the essential building development in the area in the future.

The above brief sketch should serve as an appropriate background for our understanding of Karnal as a medium-sized town.

Legal Foundation: Failure of Legislative Acts

What determines the physical form of a town or a city? Obviously, it is the planning laws passed by the State that regulate its form—for the town building or its shaping is guided by the 'permissions' the law allows and the authority to make and execute development schemes/plans. As the planning laws form an integral part of the whole planning process, it is only appropriate to take note of these laws which determine the quantity and quality of urban planning and development all over the State and at the town level:

State Level Acts

1. The Punjab Scheduled Roads and Controlled Areas Restriction on Unregulated Development Act, 1963;
2. The Punjab New Mandi Township Development Act, 1960;
3. The Haryana Urban Development Authority Act, 1977;
4. The Haryana Development and Regulation of Urban Areas Act, 1975.

Local Level

1. The Punjab Town Improvement Act, 1922;
2. The Haryana Municipal Act, 1974.

Despite this impressive array of legislative acts, it is being increasingly recognized in official circles (see the Circular issued by the Chief Minister of the State, Appendix III) that more damage has occured to urban development in the State—through disorderly and unplanned constructions all over—since the passage of the recent laws than in any period preceding them. Inconsistencies and contradictions have been pointed out that appear to have been

unwittingly writteh into the various Acts by the unwary framers of these pieces of legislation. What to speak of the confusion amongst the general public, there have been confusions even amongst the higher authorities themselves about the technicality and administrative complexity of some of the laws.

CASE PROBLEM 1

Deeply concerned at the pattern of uncontrolled growth which was taking place all over the state, and with a view to effectively checking the ever-increasing decay, the State Government adopted, in the year 1963, "The Punjab Scheduled Road and Controlled Areas (Restriction of Unregulated Development) Act, 1963".

The legislation came into force soon after its adoption and the Government was now empowered to declare, by notification, under section 4(i):

(a) The whole or any part of any area and adjacent to and within a distance of;

(b) eight kilometers on the outer side of the boundary of any town; or

(c) two kilometers on the outer side of the boundary of any industrial or housing estates, public institution or any ancient and historic monument specified in such notification to be a controlled area for the purpose of this Act.

One of the towns in the State in which the physical deterioration had gone too far, both within and in the outlying areas was: 'Karnal'. The situation demanded not only 'preventive' action but also an imaginative 'planning effort'.

The principal considerations that forced the department into making this declaration with respect to Karnal were:

1. Increasing haphazard and substandard construction of building in the 'controlled area', and

2. Need for direct development in it, according to a pre-conceived comprehensive plan.

The authority to enforce the new law in the said area (delegated by the Director, Town and Country Planning) was vested with the District Town Planner's Office at Karnal—a field unit of the State Department of Town and Country Planning. Amongst its most immediate and primary responsibilities was the detection of violations (of the planning laws as provided in the 1963 Act), and initiation of legal proceedings under Section 12 to prevent these violations.

Though the step taken by the State Government was timely and in the right direction, but with the passage of time the number of unauthorized structures in the area had gone so high that it placed almost an intolerable burden on the District Planner's Office to combat with the situation with its limited resources—human and non-human.

In 1975, however, a political decision altered the very physical and administrative character of the area. The economic and social aspects of some areas that lay just outside the municipal boundaries was believed to be so intimately inter-twined with the core of the city that the local municipal committee was allowed by the State Government to extend its boundaries for distance ranging from 1 to 3 kms into what had earlier been declared as the 'Controlled Area' under the 1963 Act.

When the boundaries extended, it was natural for the municipality also to inherit all unregulated development already taken place in that area. With the inclusion of a part of the 'Controlled Area', within the municipal limits, the control of prevention of haphazard growth was relaxed. The authority of the local body to regulate urban growth in its old as well as the newly-acquired territory was derived from the Municipal Act passed only two years ago (1973). A major limitation of this Act however was that while it gave the municipality ample powers to apply 'negative' controls, it lacked teeth so far as guiding urban development in a positive sense in the 'new' municipal area.

As the municipality was already notoriously-deficient in both staff and skills to discharge its duties required by

FIG.   EXTENDED MUNICIPAL LIMITS
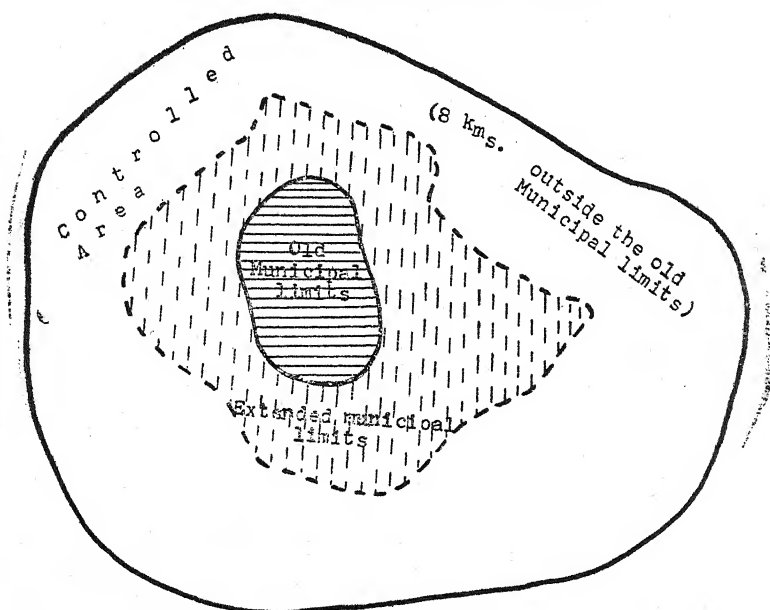
law for proper administration of planning regulations, it virtually [failed to carry out strict enforcement in the new areas where strict enforcement was the need of the hour. [It appeared as if planning and development had largely become ineffectual in the extended areas (it was 'of course' no better in the old jurisdiction of the municipality) and, in the process, the very effectiveness of probably the most *important and major tool of urban planning and development in the State, namely the 1963 Act*, had also been destroyed.

A complex policy and administrative issue cropped up at this stage:

> Whose writ should run in the area which was earlier a part of the 'Controlled Area' but had now come within the municipal limits—that of the Department of Town and Country Planning or the Municipal Committee?

The opinions of those who had a thorough grounding either in the drafting of State laws or in interpreting them were sought. While the Legal Remembrance of the State Government argued that the 1963 Act "would continue to apply to the areas which may be included in the existing municipal limits of any municipality", the Advocate General to the State Government was however inclined to go along the view that the granting of territorial rights to a municipality also meant granting of the right to apply its own laws in the extended territory, and thus, the government could take a decision to set aside the application of Controlled Area Act within the extended municipal limits.

The issue *stood unresolved for nearly six long years*, and during this period an irreparable harm to urban planning and development continued in the 'overlapping' area because of the (a) failure of the municipality to stop an increasing number of planning violations in the area, and (b) helplessness of the DTP's office which was reduced to the status of just being an idle spectator.

A document of the State Department of Town and Country Planning itself makes a distressing comment on the general malaise in the State:

> None of the existing laws in the State provides for integrated and comprehensive development of towns and regions. The existing acts are limited in their objectives and scope and, therefore, the necessity of a comprehensive legislation for comprehensive and integrated planning for the development of urban areas and the regions cannot be over-emphasized.[6]

JUMBLE OF AUTHORITIES

Like any other typical medium-sized town in the country, Karnal, too, has witnessed, in the past, a steadily-growing number of agencies set up to deal with the problems of urban planning and development in and around it. First,

[6]"Integrated Development of Karnal", a project-report prepared by the State Department of Town and Country Planning, 1980-81, p. 22.

a look at the birth-chart of these authorities:

Jumble of authorities—birth chart

Karnal Municipal Committee	: 1886
State Rehabilitation Department	: 1947
Haryana State Electricity Board Branch	: 1953
B & R Division of the State—PWD	: 1955
P.H.E. Division of the State—PWD	: 1955
Karnal Improvement Trust	: 1959
Office of the District Industries Officer	: 1962
District Town Planner's Unit (State Department of Town and Country Planning)	: 1971—the Unit earlier operated from Ambala
State Housing Board	: 1975
Haryana Urban Development Authority's two Units: the Engineering Wing, and the Estate Officer's unit	: 1978

Though the role and tasks of most of these in the context of urban planning and development are too well known to be repeated here, yet it would be worthwhile to indicate their major activities at Karnal:

Karnal Municipal Committee: Though the oldest of all the agencies in the town, it however stands dwarfed today by the activities of others in the very 'territory' of which it was the complete master once upon a time (see the monograph at the end).

State Rehabilitation Department: Carried out during the post-partition years rehabilitation work for refugees from Pakistan who settled in Karnal in 1947; presently maintains water-supply system in the Model Town colony of the town;

Haryana State Electricity Board: Established (a division of this State-level body) for purposes of distribution of electricity to domestic, commercial, agricultural, industrial and other types of consumers as also construct and maintain electricity lines and installations;

Buildings and Roads Division of State PWD: Undertakes

construction of roads and public buildings;

Public Health Engineering.Division of State PWD: Carries out execution of public works relating to drainage, sewerage, water supply systems for bodies like the Municipal Committee and others;

State Housing Board: Has been constructing houses (single storey as well as double-storey, standing in a row) for the higher-income, middle-income, lower income, and the weaker sections (as per a recent decision, however, work on weaker section's houses has been shelved because of increase in the costs).

The housing units provided by it are parts of urban estates developed by HUDA at Karnal.

Karnal Improvement Trust: For all intents and purposes, this was the first agency to provide impetus to planning and development in the town; during its chequerred career, it was able to execute as many as 25 schemes involving construction of new markets, roads, parks, water supply and sewerage systems;

Engineering Cell (Haryana Urban Development Authority): If the Urban Estate Office offers sites of different sizes for sale to public, the Engineering Cell provides civic amenities like roads, water supply, sewerage, and drainage in these estates;

District Town Planner's Unit (Department of Town and Country Planning: Basicaly concerned with the planned and orderly development of the entire district area; renders technically assistance to the municipal committees, improvement trusts, HUDA etc., in the preparation of schemes in their behalf, as well as for provision of public amenities in villages.

Some of these agencies developed, in part, in response to the demands for certain local public services and, in part, to carry out State-level policies/services which a local body, like the Municipal Committee, was not considered fully equipped to handle. The constitution of the Improvement Trust in the town is one example of the ever-changing local needs and requirements, as seen by the powers that be.

While the State authorities have been heaping one agency

over the other to meet the various urban needs of the town from time to time, but how casual and whimsical they appear to have been in their judgments and decisions is evident from the unceremonial manner in which the local Improvement Trust (set up in 1959) was packed off and re-installed a number of times during a period of about 20 years:

CHORONOLOGY OF KARNAL IMPROVEMENT
TRUST HISTORY

Established (first time)	:	1959
Dissolved	:	August 1967
Reconstituted	:	June 1969
Dissolved	:	July 1977
Reconstituted	:	December 1977
Dissolved	:	July 1978

At the time of writing, this agency is still in a state of suspension and, therefore, inoperative—though a skeleton staff, under the charge of Administrator, Karnal Municipal Committee, functions from its old offices.

Problem of Coordination

When there are too many authorities, pursuing the split-up activities of the same 'overall objective', some of them with overlapping/multiple jurisdictions and viewing themselves as independent of the 'interdependency' that binds them together, quite a few with no or little ccntact with each other in mapping out their annual plans or activities, and others hampered by varying degrees of mutual organizational frictions—the inevitable result is: a dangerous gulf in the 'integrated' and the 'fragmented' vision of a town's development.

All these problems are further aggravated by yet another serious lacuna at Karnal: while there is a district-level Coordination Committee (headed by the Deputy Commissioner) to establish constant and close liaison with the key agencies engaged in 'rural development', the absence of a similar coordination committee continues to handicap the interests of 'urban development' in the town and the district, as a whole.

It needs to be pointed out here that the 'Guidelines', issued by the Union Ministry of Works and Housing to the State Governments accepting Central funds for the IDSMT Scheme had clearly stated that a Coordination committee must be set up at the district level (with the Deputy Commissioner in the chair) to integrate the activities performed by the State-level and/or local level agencies involved in the IDSMT Scheme.

A senior official at the local level admitted that the predominant value amongst most of these 12 agencies has been centered round the belief: It is for the 'other' party (or parties) to adjust themselves to 'our needs' and requirements—a value which (he added) irrespective of the change of personnel at the higher levels, appears to be deeply embedded into each of these agencies.

4 URBAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN HARYANA

The two major agencies of the State Government that are intimately connected with and essentially share the responsibility for planned development of urban areas in Haryana today are:

1. Department of Town and Country Planning; and,
2. Haryana Urban Development Authority (HUDA).

At this point, however, it would perhaps be worthwhile to briefly touch upon the position that existed in the State before the agency mentioned at No. 2 above, namely, HUDA, came up on the scene.

Early Period

When Haryana appeared on the political map of the country in 1961, urban planning and development was not run as 'one business' but as 'many businesses', with various governmental agencies handling different activities of development in a fragmented manner, For example, if the acquisition of land and development of plots for sale to the public was the exclusive concern of the Urban Estates Department run under the aegis of the Department of Town and Country Planning, the Colonisation Department* planned 'mandis', B & R Branch of PWD built roads, the State Electricity Board laid transmission lines and provided electricity, the PHE Unit of PWD took care of the water-supply and sewerage systems, and so on. An inevitable result was lack of coordination amongst all of these and

*The Colonization Department has since been abolished and its staff and assets transferred to the Department of Town and Country Planning.

several other agencies and, as a consequence, the growth of most of the urban estates in the State tended to become very slow and caused a great deal of hardship and dissatisfaction to the plot-holders in urban areas.

An important factor that gave rise to this sad state of affairs was that each of these agencies had its own 'legal' individuality, its own budget, rules and regulations, procedures, and decision-making centres. Movement of files/papers took a long time and, hence, preparation of detailed calculations and estimates of costs of schemes and projects (and finally their approval) got delayed, or development in the urban estates went about in a haphazard manner. On top of it, even after certain schemes moved away from the 'drawing board' to the field fairly early, each agency operated within the bounds of its own culture and other environmental constraints and things proceeded in a rather lackdaisical manner. The basic facilities like water, roads, electricity were never available to the clients in right dose and at right time.

No wonder, the common outlook that urban planning and development was to be seen as a single unified field of activity was totally missing.

There was yet another serious limitation, so far as the role of the Urban Estates Department was concerned. Being a government department, it was unable to raise—if it ever wanted—from the leading national and international financial agencies the necessary resources either for land acquisition, or for urban development in general, or for specific schemes that could subsequently be converted into self-financing programmes.

Besides, the tight control maintained by the State Finance Department in financial matters—something endemic in any governmental system—also militated against the freedom of the Urban Estates Department to act in the way it would prefer to in case of certain development schemes.

Thus, it was partially to replace an obsolete and fragmented urban development machinery in the State and partially to overcome the problems mentioned above that it was decided to convert the Urban Estates Department into a

corporate body so that some of the developmental activities (logically related to each other) that until then stood divided amongst separate public agencies, could be put under the charge of one 'umbrella' organization and expeditious development of the new urban estates in Haryana ensured.

HUDA was, therefore, set up in 1977, under a special Act, and all the tasks having an affinity with each other with respect to the development of a new urban estate handed to it. These tasks were: development of acquired land into urban estates and their devision into plots of varying sizes: sale of plots to public; building of roads; water-supply and sewerage system; rain-storm water drainage; provision of parks/community centres; electrification; etc., in those urban estates.

Against this background of history and evolution of the existing machinery, it should now be possible for us to comprehend as to how the 'top organization' has been designed to control and regulate 'planning' and 'development' of urbanization in the State of Haryana.

TOP ORGANIZATION: A 'CLUSTER' OF THREE PYRAMIDS

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the "top organization" here is that the two major agencies already mentioned above and another—namely, the Department of Urban Estates (first abolished and then revived soonafter in 1977) that make up the 'engine' of urban planning and development in the State are stuck together at the 'summit' (see the Chart, p. 86) Indeed, in the context of urban planning and development the basic functions of the three agencies can be placed in a sequence: First, 'aquisition of land' (Department of Land Acquisition), then 'planning' (Department of Town and Country Planning, and next 'development' (Haryana Urban Development Authority); perhaps, that was the prime justification for this form of a conglomeration organization at the top.

Though the Chart on p. 86 does not tell everything about their many other unique combinations, but the fact of the matter is that the three can be said to have at the apex a sort

of "common management group" as well, and this core group appears to prevail in the entire top structure, embodying—so it seems—a wealth of experience and information, both of the specialist and the 'generalist' type.

The first thing to be noted in this connection, for example, is that the Minister who takes responsibility to the State legislature for general policy pursued by all the three of these agencies is the same (at present, it is the Chief Minister of the State himself). Apparently, this arrangement helps him to be in close contact with not only the policy matters (which, of course, he either decides or participates in) but also the progress made so far as the implementation of the policy goes.

Since 'urban planning or development' is unthinkble without 'land', another interesting feature of the top organization is that the two Government departments which bear the responsibility for these two activities are under the charge of the same Commissioner and Secretary to the Government, thus making it possible that the harmony of availability of land, on the one hand, and planning, on the other, is ensured. This senior civil servant in the Government is also a member of the 'Authority' (an organ roughly corresponding to that a Governing Board in private business) of the Haryana Urban Development Authority.

But, perhaps, of particular interest to a student of organizations is the '4-in-1' position (as a part of top management) in which are centered four key jobs, namely, (1) and (2) Joint Secretary, and Director, Department of Town and Country Planning; (3) Chief Administrator, HUDA; and (4) Director, Urban Estates. It is truly a key position not only because it embraces all the three agencies but because it is at this point that all important duties with regard to 'implementation', 'control', and 'direction' of what has been decided at the policy level in all the three agencies converge. It is also at this point that the work-flow relating to the three different agencies becomes segmented and its parts placed under different chains of command at the Headquarters as well as in the field, in the three pyramids.

To give an illustration of the structural 'polarisation of work amongst the three bodies, when HUDA acquires or

FIG.: A CLAUSTER OF THREE PYRAMIDS
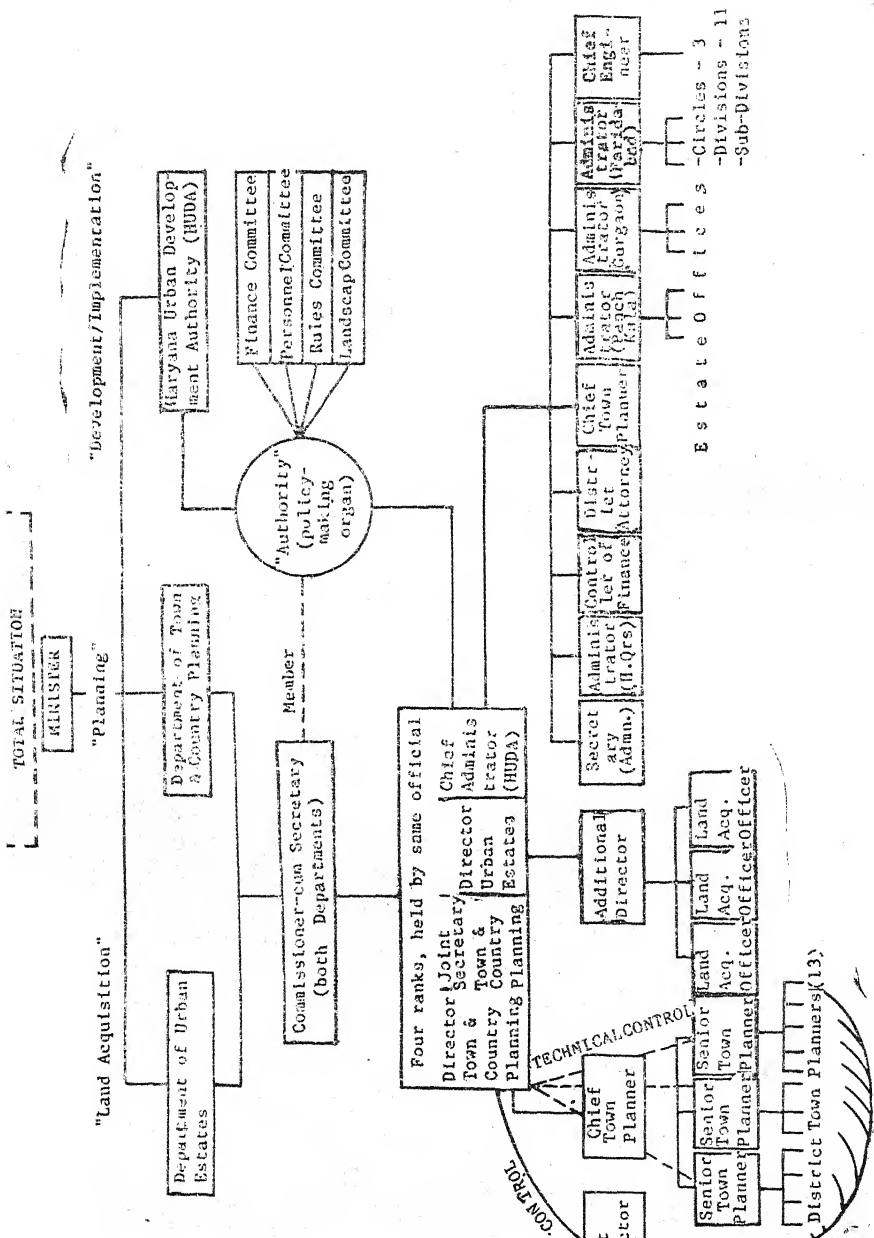
prepares to acquire land (with the help of Department of Urban Estates) in Karnal, it is the District Town Planner (Department of Town and Country Planning) who would prepare a detailed layout plan which is then approved by the Chief Administrator (HUDA) who also is Director/Joint Secretary, Town and Country Planning.

Despite this unity at the 'summit', the three organizations have their own internal identities in the form of separate hierarchical structures, skills or end-products. It would, therefore, be desirable to take a brief look as to how they are organized at their 'middle' and 'base' levels.

DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING

This Department may be described as the "sole State agency" with which rests the 'overall' responsibility for decision-making in urban planning and development, and then watching results in the State of Haryana, as a whole. Its operations may be summarized, in broadest terms, as *first*, regulating the development in 'urban/rural areas',* and *secondly*, preventing unhealthy speculation of land and haphazard growth-urbanization around the municipal limits in the State. Since the Department is concerned with both the 'unregulated' and 'regulated' urbanization, its activities and organization, are to a very material extent, based on two important pieces of legislation:

1. The Punjab Scheduled Roads and Controlled Areas (restriction and unregulated development) Act, 1963; and,
2. The Haryana Development and Regulation of Urban Areas Act, 1977.

It is not only bound but also administers the provisions of these two Acts. For example, under the provisions of the 1977 Act, the Department has already declared potential areas around 40 towns in the State as "Controlled Areas"

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*Officially, the framework differentiates amongst four lower-to-higher units: Village—Township—Town—City.

in which no building can be created without the permission of the Department.

In the urban sector, the activities of the Department have so far included; Suggestive future land-use plans, development plans for 'controlled areas' outside municipal limits (as many as 16 already finalized and published), and formulation of projects for integrated development of small and medium-sized towns within the framework of development plans.

The Department also plays the role of a 'service agency'—in addition to its two sister-agencies (the Department of Urban Estates, and the Haryana Urban Development Authority)—for Municipal Committees, Improvement Trusts in the State, and corporations like the State Housing Board, Rural Development Board, Agricultural Marketing Board, Industrial Development Corporation, in matters of selection of sites, preparation/scrutiny of lay-out plans and other issues relating to urban development.

Organization—Bottom Upwards

The Department is a three-tier organization: Headquarters, Regional and the District level. As the work of the Department pivots around urban development—orderly or disorderly—and this 'development' takes place out in the field, it would only be logical if we try to understand the organization bottom-upwards.

Standing at the base of the field organization is: the District Town Planner (DTP), a planning expert. As the title implies, he operates in a defined area (the size and the kind of urbanization problems vary from district to district).

There are, as of today, 12 districts in the State and, hence, 12 DTPs—though one more was added sometime back (for Panchkula in Ambala District), bringing the total to 13.

Every three or four districts have been grouped into a 'Circle' and the DTPs operating in them have been put under the charge of a Senior Town Planner (STP). Being the head of an area wider than two or three districts, the STP has what may be called the 'regional' responsibilities. There are three STPs in the State at present. They are in charge of: (1) the Panchkula Circle, (2) the Hissar Circle, and (3) the Gurgaon Circle.

The duties of a Senior Town Planner (STP) largely include supervision of techincal work being done by the District Town Planners under him and their staff, *i.e.*, scrutiny of plans/schemes prepared at the district level and the transmission of these blue-prints, etc., to the Chief Town Planner (CTP) at the Headquarters, whose immediate boss is the Director, Town and Country Planning.

The Chief Town Planner, like the Senior Town Planners and the District Town Planners (not all, of course) is a professionally-trained planner and is the head of all the specialists in planning, employed in the Department. He acts as an 'adviser' to the Director, Town and Country Planning, on all technical matters with regard to planning and other allied matters.

In 'administrative matters', however, the Director, Town and Country Planning, is assisted by a generalist-administrator (belonging to the Haryana Civil Service). He has the rank of 'Joint Director' and looks after the establishment work of the entire Department.

The fact that the Director in this Department also wears another departmental hat, *i.e.*, of 'Joint Secretary' (see Chart, p. 86) calls for an explanation. This was necessitated—I was informed—by the consideration that in the civil service sense if he were designated merely as a 'Director' in the Department, his papers, in order to reach the Commissioner-cum-Secretary to the Department, would have to first move through the appropriate levels in the Secretariat, taking thereby considerable amount of time and delaying decision-making. So, as a somewhat special arrangement, the Director, Town and Country Planning, has also been designated as 'Joint Secretary' so that he can deal directly with the Commissioner-cum-Secretary of the Department.

At the top of the Department, of course, is the Commissioner-cum-Secretary, responsible for the conduct of all the activities of the Department, as well as serving as a link between the Department, on the one hand, and the Minister in charge of the Department, and the Legislature, on the other.

It may be mentioned here, however, that the Senior Town Planners, the District Town Planners or the Assistant Town Planners owe responsibility to the Chief Town Planner only

with respect to 'technical' aspects of their jobs; for all other purposes, they are subject to the control and authority of the Director and/or Joint Director of the Department. For example, if they have any problem with respect to their service conditions, promotional avenues, etc., they would have to write to the Joint Director/Director at the Head-quarters, and not to the Chief Town Planner (CTP). Similarly, if they have to obtain any clarifications or commands with regard to the enforcement of laws in the "controlled areas", it is the Director, Town and Country Planning (and not the Chief Town Planner) from whom they seek the necessary guidance.

The principal lines of command from the Commissioner-cum-Secretary to the Department onto the levels below are shown in the Chart below:
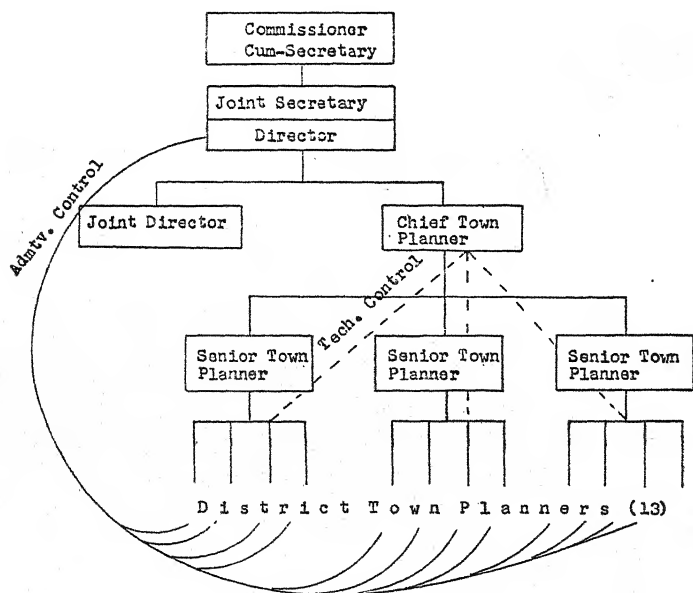
FIG.   ORGANIZATION CHART: DEPARTMENT OF TOWN
AND COUNTRY PLANNING

Major Problems

Insofar as 'decentralisation' refers to a dispersion of organi-

zational activities (say, physical dispersion of planning and enforcement activities in the entire State in the context of this Department), this State Department can certainly be regarded as a 'decentralised' agency. But, it is to be noted here that for purposes of decision-making, allocation of important resources, control, etc., the Department is highly centralised. Very little power is delegated to the levels below.

There appears to be discrepancies in: (*a*) what the law says (no unplanned construction to be allowed in the "controlled areas", (*b*) what the top management believes (can't help these unauthorised constructions to some extent because population pressures in those areas shall not wait till the 'official' development comes and that takes a long time), and (*c*) the resultant confusion at the operating levels, for those below seem to be trapped in the dilemma: action or caution.

In the circumstances, the effectiveness of this "sole State agency", bearing overall responsibility for decision-making in urban planning and development, has suffered. Let alone other aspects, the officials at the District level are simply at a loss to know as to how to go about dealing with the problem of 'demolition' of unauthorised structures.

If inadequancy of finance and competent personnel have been amongst the 'major problems' of the Department, several other factors ('individual' and 'organizational' or both seem to be leading to the loss of motivation of the staff in the field and hurting the 'human side' of the organization. Some of these factors are:

1. Lack of constant and constructive feedback from top to bottom;
2. Lack of sensitivity to individual and organizational needs of the staff below;
3. Lack of behavioural/psychological support from the superiors.*

*The researches carried out by Rensis Likert (a well known American behavioural scientist) and his associates in a number of American enterprises have shown that organizations based upon participative decision-making, team-work, mutual confidence and trust (instead of domination and fear) was the most appropriate management style for an organization

The Herzberg's 'Satisfiers' (motivating factors that are derived from the job-content itself) are not adequately provided for and, hence, jobs by the staff in the field not looked upon as personally/professionally meaningful or rewarding.

HARYANA URBAN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

The Haryana Urban Development Authority (HUDA)—the 'implementation' component of the urban planning and development machinery in the State—came into existence on January 13, 1977, 16 years after the State itself came into existence.

Being a State-level agency, and entailing fairly large-scale operations throughout Haryana, it is quite a vast undertaking.

The duties and functions of HUDA are defined in Section 13 of the "Haryana Urban Development Authority Act, 1977". Its main tasks are: (1) To promote and secure development of urban areas with the power to acquire, hold and dispose of property, both movable and immovable; (2) To acquire, develop, and disburse land for residential, industrial and commercial purposes; (3) To make available developed land to Haryana Housing Board and other bodies for providing houses to economically-weaker sections of the society; and (4) To undertake building work.

The body has so far set up about 20 residential/industrial estates in various towns of Haryana. It discharges its functions and responsibilities on no-loss-no-profit basis, in accordance with the policy of the State Government.

The task of acquisition of land for urban development is undertaken by the Land Acquisition Officers of the Urban Estate Department at the instance of HUDA and then transferred to it on payment (of course, HUDA also has its own set of three officials who liaise with the Department in this connection).

desirous of being efficient or effective. See Likert Rensis, *The Human Organisation*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1967; and also Likert, *New Patterns of Management*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1961.

Also: Herzberg Frederick, *Work and the Nature of Men*, World Publishing Co., Cleveland and New York, 1966.

Directing Group—'The Authority'

Created under the provisions of Section (1) of the Act, the 'Authority' consists of, as a statutory body, a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, and not less than six and not more than twelve other members. The composition of the Authority, as constituted at present, is as follows:

1.	Chief Minister, Haryana	Chairman
2.	Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Haryana	Vice-Chairman
3.	Chief Administrator (HUDA) cum Director, Town and Country Planning	Member
4.	Commissioner and Secretary to Govt. of Haryana, Deptt. of Town and Country Planning	Member
5.	Commissioner and Secretary to Govt. of Haryana, Department of Finance	Member
6.	Commissioner and Secretary to Govt. of Haryana, Local Government Department	Member
7.	Principal Secretary to the Chief Minister, Haryana	Member
8.	Chairman, Haryana State Electricity Board	Member
9.	Chairman, Haryana Housing Board	Member
10.	Director, Industries, Haryana	Member
11.	Engineer-in-Chief, PWD, Buildings and Roads Branch	Member
12.	Engineer-in-Chief, PWD, Public Health Branch	Member

It may be noted that there is no formal functional division of responsibility between the members of the Authority. Their responsibility is a collective one and all their formal decisions are by a majority of votes of the members present at formal meetings (Section 3(3).

It is at this level of the Authority that one finds the *first*

division of activities of HUDA—the division of 'policy' (ends) and 'management' (means), for all the important questions of public policy are resolved in this body. It adopts the budget, authorizes borrowings of money by HUDA, and approves higher contracts. It also exercises general supervision and management of the organization.

Committees

While the 'Authority', headed by the Chief Minister (or the Minister for Town and Country Planning/Urban Estates) has—as per the Act—reserved to itself the powers of various types for carrying out the objectives of HUDA, it has however appointed four committees to help it discharge its functions in an efficient manner. The four Committees— essentially of an advisory nature-are:

1. Finance Committee;
2. Personnel Committee;
3. Land-scape Committee; and
4. Rules Committee.

Finance Committee

Chaired by the Minister in Charge, Town and Country planning Department, the Committee has the following as its *five* members: Commissioner and Secretary to Government, Finance Department; Commissioner and Secretary to Government, Department of Town and Country Planning; Engineer-in-Chief, PWD, Buildings and Roads Branch Engineer-in-Chief, PWD Public Health Branch; and Chief Administrator, HUDA.

The Committee has the responsibility for financial matters, including scrutiny of HUDA's annual budget proposals. Its other major responsibilities are: (1) according Administrative approval for works and contracts whose value exceeds Rs. 50 lacs; (2) the mode of allotment and terms and conditions of sale of resumed/surrendered/cancelled/new plots for residential industrial, commercial, charitable, and institutional purposes; (3) fixation of price and pricing formula: (4) fixation of reserve price in case of auction and tender; (5)

rate of interest to be charged on land allotted for various purposes under the Act; (6) advancing of loans for the construction of houses to the plot holders; (7) raising of loan, debentures, etc., from commercial institutions, terms and conditions, etc; and (8) investment of funds.

Personnel Committee

Chief Secretary to the Government of Haryana is the Chairman of this committee. It has *two* other members; Commissioner and Secretary to Government, Department of Town and Country Planning; and Chief Administrator, HUDA-cum-Director, Town and Country Planning.

The Committee is concerned with: (1) recruitment to posts in the Authority with scale of pay the maximum of which is Rs. 900 or more. (2) all Administrative matters regarding fixation of pay and allowances, T.A., etc., and the cases of promotion to the posts carrying scale (maximum) of Rs. 900 or more in the Authority.

Landscape Committee

Besides the Chairman (a retired ICS Officer), the Committee has 12 members: Chief Administrator, HUDA; Chief Conservator, Forests, Haryana; Chief Engineer, HUDA; Administrator concerned, HUDA; Senior Town Planner concerned; Chief Engineer, Tourism; Executive Engineer, Horticulture (Union Territory of Chandigarh); Secretary, HUDA: Senior Architect, HUDA; and two other retired officials.

The task of the Committee is, as the title suggests, to advise the Authority on matters regarding landscap architecture and/or gardening in the newly development urban areas.

Rules Committee

Consisting of Chief Secretary as the Chairman and *three* members (Secretary, Town and Country Planning; Chairman Housing Board, and Chief Administrator, HUDA), the Committee frames rules and regulations for the Authority's

smooth functioning. It also advises the Authority on legal matters.

Chief Administrator: Organisation at Headquarters

If the Directing Group of HUDA, namely, the 'Authority' presided over the Minister, decides upon 'policy' matters, it is the Chief Administrator of HUDA who is the chief executive of this "policy" (It may be worthwhile to recall here that he also concurrently holds three other positions; Joint Secretary, Department of Town and Country Planning; Director, Urban Estates; and Director, Town and Country Planning). He is the repository of wide powers of action and decision, of course, subject to the policies laid by the Authority above and to the financial limits set by it.

While a part of the HUDA's structure, described above (Authority, Committees), had its original foundation in the provisions of the HUDA Act itself, the part that follows resulted from organizational planning, as conceived by the powers that be (see Chart, p. 97).

Chief Administrator and Intermediate Organization

The composition and the powers of the 'Authority' which is the highest seat of power in HUDA have already been touched upon. If it decides upon policy and management matters, the Chief Administrator of HUDA is the chief executive of this policy, responsible for putting that into effect.

Below the Chief Administrator is the intermediate organization of HUDA at the headquarters, comprising six departmental Heads:

1. Administrator (Headquarters),
2. Secretary (Administration),
3. Controller of Finance;
4. District Attorney;
5. Chief Town Planner; and
6. Chief Engineer.

In addition to these six departmental Heads, the Chief Administrator of HUDA is assisted by three Administrators

Organization chart (read rotated):

- Chairman
- AUTHORITY
- Chief Administrator
  - Engineering Wing (Chief Engineer)
    - H. Qrs. Unit
      - Exec.-Engr.
    - Filed Units
      - Suptg Engr Panchkula
      - Supt Engr (Karnal)
      - Suptg Engr Faridabad
  - Administrative Wing
    - Headquarters Units
      - Secretary
      - District Attorney
      - Controller of Finance
      - Administrator (H. Qrs.)
      - Dy. Eco. & Stat. Adviser
  - Architectural & Planning Wing (Chief Town Planner)
    - Senior Town Planner
    - Senior Architect
    - Senior Architect (Vacant)
    - Field Organization
      - Administrator (Panchkula)
      - Administrtr Faridabad
      - Administrator (Gurgaon)

(Urban Estates) who also form part of the 'intermediate level' of the organization though, unlike their six counterparts at the headquarters, they operate in the field.

A relatively smaller but important Unit of HUDA that calls for special mention here is its "Monitoring Cell". It is headed by a Deputy Economic and Statistical Adviser who reports to the Administrator (Headquarters). As per a brochure issued by the HUDA, the unit was set up "in order to monitor the progress of developmental work done by the field offices on a regular basis". The intenion was to throw up systematic information on performance of work in the field and to appraise it for future planning of urban development in the State.

The functions of all the departmental heads are broadly conveyed by the titles they bear. First, there is the Administrator (Headquarters) who deals with varied activities involving general and specific problems that can be tackled only at the Headquarters level such as, non-resident Indians seeking HUDA's assistance in setting up industries in Haryana. Secretary (Administration) looks after the establishment work for the entire organization. Controller of Finance performs the functions of financial management. He is assisted by an Accounts Officer and other support staff at the Headquarters and in all the field offices. Though the existing system of accounting followed by this division is basically on the pattern of the PWD but it is gradually being replaced by the 'commercial system' of accounting so that it would be possible to yield information for planning and control of different functional areas in HUDA.

'Legal work' arising out of the problems of acquisition of land and disposal of developed land for various purposes—is handled by the District Attorney and his staff; this is only a 'staff' function. Next, the Chief Town Planner has as its major concern things such as, perspective planning, design of buildings constructed by HUDA, and preparation of architecture controls. He is assisted by architects and other technical staff.

Field Organization—'Systems' Analogy

Supplementing the work being performed by the units at

the Headquarters are two other major Groupings that operate out in the 'field'. These are:

1. Engineering Wing; and
2. Urban Estates Wing.

Together, they not only carry out the major tasks of HUDA but also rub shoulders with each other at the "grass-root" level. Indeed, the work the two do is marked by a special relationship and it is possible to see some kind of an analogy between this relationship and the System's view of organizations. For example, when the theory of organization takes a system's view of an agency (or a set of agencies), it means that something comes into it (input), something is done to it (process), and something then goes out (output).

Translating this concept in the context of these two wings of HUDA, it can be stated that land comes in (input) it is processed (i.e., 'developed' by the Engineeing Wing), and then it goes out (output—sale of developed plots through the Urban Estate Wing).

It is also noteworthy that it is the services rendered by these two wings that dominate the other activities of HUDA. This is clear from the fact that nearly 75 per cent of the total staff of HUDA are engaged in these two wings.

Engineering Wing

As stated above, the primary job of this Wing is to develop land, acquired by HUDA. Its job terminates at that point and then the Urban Estate Wing takes over.

The Engineering Wing is broken down geographically and operates at two levels: (1) the Headquarters, and (2) the operating field Units. The field units are further divided into two parts: Circle (regional), and Division (district level).

At the head of the Wing is a Chief Engineer, stationed at the headquarters and assisted by a small staff. The channels of communication and command can be traced from him at Chandigarh through his three Superintending Engineers at three 'Circles' in the State (Karnal, Gurgaon and Faridabad), through the Superintending Engineers to the Executive

Engineers at the 'District' level, and from them into two further sub-groups of activity—the 'Assistant Engineer' and the 'Junior Engineer` levels. (*Incidentally, it is the Suprintending Engineer at Karnal and one of his Executive Engineers who carry the responsibility for the 'implementation' of the IDSMT Scheme at Karnal*).

The Engineering Wing includes engineering personnel from the State PWD on deputation as well as those who came to it after recruitment from the open market. However, it is interesting to note that the whole of managerial group—from level of the Executive Engineers to the Chief Engineer—is from the PWD (there are 14 of them in all: 10 Executive Engineers, 3 Superintending Engineers, and the Chief Engineer).

Urban Estate Wing

If the 'Engineering Wing' is concerned with the development of acquired land, the Urban Estate Wing's function is to build up urban estatel's and then people them.

There are three administrators posted at outlying places in the State (Panchkula, Gurgaon and Faridabad), acting as regional heads of the 20-odd urban estates developed by HUDA so far. These three Administrators are assisted by six 'Estate Officers', each looking after, on an average two such estates (the only exception is the one at Gurgaon who has as many as five).

Essentially, there are two parts to the job of an Estate Officer: (1) to sell developed plots of land of different sizes, and (2) to realise the amount from the buyers in instalments. His is really a grass-root role, for he deals with hundreds of plot-buyers, in a variety of ways, including listening to and redressing their grievances.

HUDA—Major Problems

If there is a fundamental difference between the Department of Town and Country Planning, and the Haryana

*An urban estate, as raised by HUDA, is a developed 60-300 hectares site, divided into plots of varying sizes, with major streets interacting each other at some distances; these streets define neighbourhoods, parks,

Urban Development Authority, it is this: the former is under the overall control of the State Finance Department in financial matters, in the case of the latter the Finance Department's control is eliminated.

Perhaps that is where the dis-similarity between the two ends. For, what the interviews with the various officials revealed, to all intents and purposes, the style of functioning of HUDA is no different than that of a typical government department. To take a few illustrations from the 'Engineering Wing', decision-making is not based on "information source" but on 'organizational role'; as a result, speed of decisions is slow and sometimes even divorced from reality. Espirit de corps is missing from the middle ranks, largely because of a simmering resentment against the domination at top positions by the deputationists from the State PWD. There is no cost-consciousness with regard to project formulation and implementation. No consultative committees to deal with staff welfare, and no place for important elements, such as, motivation of staff, training/human resource development—that are considered so fundamental today for building up the effectiveness of organizations.

Although during the years 1976-77 and 1980-81, HUDA's scope, power and money (from a partly receipt figure of Rs. 307.56 lakhs to Rs. 2126.32 lakhs) grew, at the time of writing this report, HUDA is reported to be in the grip of a fiscal crisis and appears to be finding at difficult to refund, at one go, all the 'earnest money' it collected, sometime back, from over a lakh of applicants for plots in one of its urban estates.

HUDA is an organization that is scattered in several locations all through the State, and is engaged in operations that involve 'planning' and 'development'. Both of these activities heavily depend on carefully-collected processed 'information' about the past performance of the various organizational units and its evaluation for control, coordination, and decision-making. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that the authorities set up a Monitoring Cell at the Headquarters to handle this important task. Yet, if one steps into this Unit today, one finds it handling not 'information' (or economic research and statistics) but burdened with tasks

that approximate to routine 'administrative' or 'public relations' work.

Reason for this variance from its original objective? Resistance to change—from the vested interest within the organization who saw in the innovation a sort of threat to their way of doing things and gradually 'killed' it by their indifference or by manipulating data.

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN ESTATES

The Department had a re-birth in 1977 in the sense that it was first scrapped during that year (following the emergence of HUDA which took over some of its functions, in addition to certain new ones and then re-established, for it was realized that only a Government department (and not an autonomous body like HUDA) could acquire land for developmental purposes under the 1894 Land Acquisition Act of the Government of India.

It is the sole agency for acquistion of land for governmental agencies in Haryana. It acquires land for the use of HUDA as well and after taking possession of land transfers it to HUDA on payment. Till December 31, 1981, the total amount of land acquired by it for HUDA's urban estates at 16 towns (including Karnal) stood at 15,791.35 h/acres, the share of Karnal being 402.47 as compared to 6309.90 h/acres at Faridabad.

The organization Chart on next page indicates the small size of the department.

Coordination mechanism amongst Three Pyramids Through Use of 'Quarterly Meetings' of Field Staff

Coordination amongst different units and people within the same organization is generally said to present problems of one kind or the other. However, when it is to be achieved amongst as many as three different agencies, and that too amongst the field-units, heads the need for coordination undoubtedly become all the greater.

It goes to the credit of the top-level authorities here that they have set up a reasonably complete coordination machine to deal with the practical problems that the field units expe-

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                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │   Minister   │
                    └──────┬───────┘
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                    │ Commissioner-Cum  │
                    │  Secretary (U.Es) │
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                    │ Director (U.Es)│
                    └──────┬───────┘
                    ┌──────┴───────┐
                    │  Additional  │
                    │Director (U.Es)│
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│Land Acquisition│ │Land Acquisition│ │Land Acquisition│
│Officer         │ │Officer         │ │Officer         │
│(Panchkula)     │ │(Gurgaon)       │ │(Faridabad)     │
└────────────────┘ └────────────────┘ └────────────────┘
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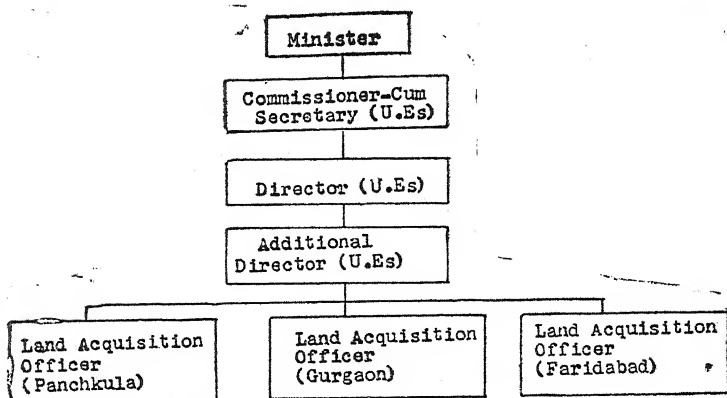
FIG. ORGANIZATION CHART: DEPARTMENT OF
URBAN ESTATES

rience at the intra-agency and inter-agency level. This machinery is in the form of "Quarterly Meetings" held at Chandigarh. Participating in these meetings are: (*a*) the Land Acquisition Officers from the Department of Land Acquisition, (*b*) the District Town Planners from the Department of Town and Country Planning, and (*c*) the Superintending Engineers from the Engineering Wing of the Haryana Urban Development Authority. An attempt is made in these meetings to fix targets in a sequence for the three sets of field officers (say, for land acquisition in a particular area in the State, for preparing plans for that land, and, for its developments later) so that they proceed and act in a concerted manner and, thereby, help weld the major tasks of each of the three bodies into a harmonious endeavour. Or, if targets fixed in an earlier meeting to complete the land acquisition operations in a given area in the State were not adhered to, the Land—Acquisition staff would than explain the reasons or difficulties that stood in the way so that the other two sets of field officers from that area (the District Town Planner, and the Suptdg. Engineer, HUDA) could take note of it and modify their plans. Administrative tangles, if any, amongst these officers which might have arisen as a result of human or structural reasons, are also sorted out in the meetings.

5 EVOLUTION OF IDSMT SCHEME* AT KARNAL

The IDSMT Scheme—aimed at towns with a population of less than 1 lakh—seemed to fit the rank of Karnal (population-wise) and so when the Government of Haryana contended for Central financial support for this town in early 1982, alongwith five others in the State, Karnal (and its population) acquired the privileged status of being a member of a 'coterie' of small and medium towns selected for the purpose throughout the country.

Stage I

Arguing the case for Karnal for Central support under the scheme, a Report, prepared by the Department of Town and Country Planning, Government of Haryana, noted:

Karnal had gained national importance because of its pivotal role in the much talked-about green and white revolutions in the country today. It is also well-known for being the home for several research institutions of national importance (NDRI, CSSRI, SRRS, etc.). It has a number of established industries, with the agro-based industries occupying the pride of place. The town is not only situated on the National Highway No. 1 but is well connected with rail and road with other principal towns/cities in the country. It is serving both national (green revolution) and 'international' (foreign-exchange earnings) functions. It is also serving functions that are 'regional' in nature......"

The Report talked about plans and proposals the Haryana Government had thought of for the town's development.

*Although the Scheme was launched during the year 1979-80, but it really took off only during 1980-81 (its total life-span: 5 years).

Amongst these proposals were two schemes that centered round: (*a*) residential land development scheme known as Sector VI, and (*b*) commercial land development scheme known as Sector IV.

Residential Land Development Scheme (Sector VI)

The Report pointed out that Karnal had already an estimated population of about 1,32,000 persons. It is believed to be increasing at an annual rate of 5 per cent which means that the town shall have a population of about 1.65 lakhs by 1984, registering thereby an increase of 35,000 persons over the present number.

The Report concluded that the 'total land requirements to settle 35,000 persons would be 175 hectares, having a density of 200 persons per hectare. However, in order to cope with the immediate needs of the people for housing sites to some extent, it would be necessary to acquire and develop 32 hectares of land.

On priority basis, therefore, under the patronage of the IDSMT Scheme, a residential area of about 22 hectares is proposed to be developed as a part of Sector VI. This Sector is located on the existing by-pass and will be linked to the town through a 100 ft. wide road. Different sizes of plots of 126, 260, 299, and 405 sq. meters have been provided to cater to the needs of 'all sections of the society'.

Commercial Land Development Scheme
(Sector IV: Transport Nagar)

Another important scheme that was suggested in the Report dealt with the establishment of a Transport Nagar.

The town had been experiencing for a long time acute traffic problems as a result of traffic congestion, and difficulties of parking in the central business areas. The streets were too narrow to carry trucking and other heavy traffic which was used for loading and unloading. Besides, the pedestrian traffic was heavy. The parking of trucks, and repair work, the grease and the oil, tended to move their burdens, at times, into the lanes and bylanes nearby. With this constantly increasing pressure for more space, the need for the creation of a transport nagar outside the town was overdue (the local

Municipal Committee had, of course, stepped in to offer a temporary solution by letting some of its land to be used for parking by trucks but the point was to resolve the problem on a permanent basis).

The Report suggested acquisition of 30 hectares of land in Sector IV for the purpose.

However, to avail of the Central help under the Scheme an acquisition of only four hectares was proposed. The scheme has provision for idle parking of trucks, repair shops, spare-part stores and other allied establishments.
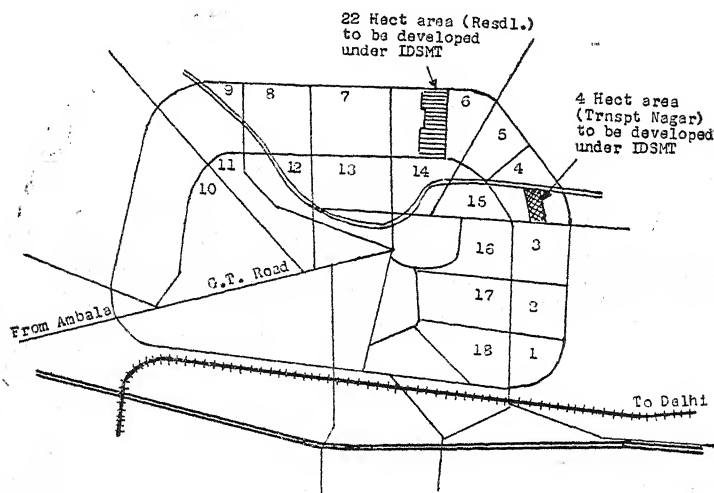
FIG.   IDSMT SCHEME AT KARNAL

Stage II—Approval/Planning

The town was awarded a grant by the Central Government in October 1982 and the State Government on receipt of the first instalment of funds (Rs. 13 lakhs) passed that on to HUDA; the second instalment of Rs. 20 lakh of funds was received in March 1983.[1]

The basic planning for the two Schemes was done in the Office of the District Town Planner at Karnal.

[1]Total Central assistance for IDSMT Scheme at Karnal: 40 lakhs.

Stage III—Implementation

Sector VI (Residential)

The first step apparently involved the acquisition of land (84 hectares)[2]. This took about 15 months.

As already stated, construction activities are under-taken by the Unit in a certain order; that is, of all the activities, 'roads' must be built first.

The estimates (Rs. 60.72 lakhs)[2] for main roads in Sector VI were prepared in January 1982 and sent to higher authorities but until January, 1984 (when data was collected) the approval had not been received.

Since the Unit is authorized to spend 20 per cent of the estimated total (if 'approval' not received in time), the work on road construction—collection of stone-metal, laying of metal, rolling of metal,—was taken up. There was a burst of construction activity for 5 months but as soon as the 20 per cent 'limit' was exhausted, it plunged to zero.

The stoppage still continues (i.e., till January, 1984).

Water Supply/Sewerage/Storm Water Drains: The submisssion of estimates for the entire sector (Rs. 171.09 lakhs) to the Headquarters was made in April 1982 and the approval received in November 1982.

Because the approval of the estimates in this case had been received, the pattern of construction activity has been fairly consistent throughout the five month period, and a substantial amount of progress achieved.

The total progress achieved in all the four above-mentioned activities so far is set out as below:

Road	:	30 per cent
Sewerage	:	50-60 per cent
Water Supply	:	70 per cent

[2]The figures, i.e., 84 hectares, and Rs. 60.72 lakh, pertain to the entire Sector VI.

*The delay in the execution of work is ascribed to a loan of Rs. 20 crores advanced by HUDA to the Haryana State Electricity Board in 1981. As the money had not been returned by the Electricity Board, the cycle of cash-flow within HUDA got adversely affected.

The execution agency appears to have fallen behind in its schedule by about six months

Implications

Normally, work on 'roads' should be running head of work on water supply and sewerage (or at least, simultaneously). There is evidence to show that it has just been the reverse here, reducing the planning done by the 'Circle' into a futile exercise. The officials will have to spend a great deal of their time and energies again in revising their estimates, fresh tendering, and taking extra care to get the work on roads speeded to catch up with the progress in water supply/sewerage, once the approval and money is made available by the Headquarters.

Sector IV (Commercial): Transport Nagar

The total size of the area being developed is 30 hectares, but only four hectares are being covered under the Scheme.

In the case of the Transport Nagar also two separate estimates were prepared:

1. For providing roads/parks/parking areas: Rs. 39,25,000.
2. For providing public health services like water supply, sewerage, and storm water drainage, Rs. 45,45,000.

The estimates for roads, etc. were submitted in June 1982 and approval received in March 1983. However, in the case of water supply and other works the approval for estimates sent in December 1982 was still awaited (*i.e.*, up to January 1, 1984).

Implications

As the work on the two construction activities should proceed simultaneously, the work in this component of the IDSMT Scheme, therefore, had not been undertaken until then.

The consequences are many: among others, rise in prices of raw materials, disturbance in the starting and completion dates of the project, longer wait in both the sale and delivery

of plots to purchasers, and alternating bouts of 'overload of work' and 'idleness' for staff members in the execution-agency.

It is just like the case of a traveller—as a management writer has described it—who feels compelled to give up his original plans (or revise them) if the train on which he is travelling should be delayed by several hours, causing him to miss proper rail connections at another railway station, forego a lucrative deal, and in that process suffer a big loss. Translated in the contaxt of "integrated development of a small or medium town", losses to the community in a given town are also multiple.

6 IDSMT SCHEME: TOWN LEVEL MACHINERY (PLANNING)

If the choice of Karnal for implementation of the IDSMT Scheme figured for the first time in a meeting at Chandigarh on October 22, 1982 (presided over by the Commissioner-cum-Secretary to the Department of Town and Country Planning), it was the District Town Planner's Unit at Karnal which was responsible for working out the 'planning' details of the Scheme.

The total strength of staff manning this Unit is 38 (including the head of the Unit, the District Town Planner). This includes two Tracers, three Field Investigators, four Building Inspectors, a Head Clerk and other support staff.

Activity Analysis

Within his jurisdiction (covering three "Controlled Areas", namely, Karnal, Panipat and Madhuban) and with the assistance of his professional and non-professional staff, the Karnal DTP is broadly responsible for:

1. Preparation of suggestive future land-use plans;
2. Preparation of development plans for 'Controlled Areas' in his jurisdiction;
3. Prevention of unauthorised construction and illegal sale of land for residential/industrial/commercial purposes within the controlled areas; and,
4. Rendering advisory technical assistance to local authorities in their day-to-day planning tasks and to other bodies in site-selection for their developmental activities.

DTP in the State is same but the volume of work he handles may vary, largely due to the nature of the urbanized area under his jurisdiction, the number of violations occurring in controlled areas, his training/initiative/vision, and, above all, his own commitment to the goals of his organization or sub-goals of the Unit he heads. For instance, the load of work of a DTP may continue to increase if he zealously chases every single instance of unauthorized construction or sale of land, or, on the contrary, it may go down—or even remain static—if he chooses to ignore these violations. In the case of the DTP at Karnal, though there is much work on the side of 'plan/scheme preparation' but it is really on the 'enforcement' side that he finds himself expending a great deal of his time and energies.

The direct tie of the DTP's Unit with its 'environment', both 'external' and 'internal' can easily be traced in a dozen of ways.

Let us, first, look at the points at which it comes into contact with its 'external' environment. Of course, the list is long, but the more important are:

The Deputy Commissioner, Karnal;
Estate Officer (HUDA);
Superintending Engineer (HUDA);
Karnal Municipal Committee;
Karnal Improvement Trust;
Municipal Committee of Panipat;
People living in Controlled Areas and seeking planning permission/violating laws;
The courts at Faridabad, Panipat, Palwal;
Police Stations at Karnal, Panipat, Gharaunda and Madhuban;
Housing Board;

There are the other 'points' that are 'internal':

DTP's own workforce;
Assistant Attorney at Kurukshetra;
Senior Town Planner at Hissar;
Chief Town Planner, Chandigarh;

Director, Town and Country Planning, Chandigarh and other higher-ups there.

It is apparent that the DTP's Unit finds itself in exchange with numerous points in its environment—both external and internal.

An analysis of its activities however shows that whenever this exchange is of 'routine' nature (preparation of layout plans/schemes, consultation on site-selection, etc.), it manages to survive without any problem. This is quite evident from the output of the Unit in this regard during the year 1982-83 which has been quite prodigious. But, when it comes to dealing with an exchange that is of 'critical' nature, it struggles hard to survive.

Let us see, for example, from the case problem below how does it try to cope up when it finds itself face to face with a welter of pressures in its interaction with the 'critical' points:

CASE PROBLEM 2

As the District Town Planner (popularly called, the DTP) of the Town 'A' Mr. . . . had the time-consuming task, amongst others, of searching out the violators of planning laws in the controlled/urban areas and then filing cases against them either with the local court of law or police. The town was literally a beehive of industrial activity and teemed with factories of all sizes and complexion. As would happen with any such town, it not only attracted people from rural areas in search of jobs and houses (later ended up in thatched huts built on government land) but also had its share of local colonizers who, motivated by self-interest and profit, would go about selling plots of land without regard to rules affecting the development of the area.

The two State urban development Acts which gave the DTP the power (of course, delegated from the authorities above) to challenge these elements were: (1) the Scheduled Roads and Controlled Area (Restriction of Unregulated Development) Act, 1963; and (2) The Development and Regulation of Urban Areas Act, 1975. Section 12(1) of

the former, for example, authorized him to proceed against:

any person who—

(a) erects or re-erects any building or makes or extends any excavation or lays out any means of access to a road in contravention of the provision of Section-3 or section 6 or in contravention of any conditions imposed by an order under section 8 or section 10, or

(b) Uses any land in contravention of the provisions of sub-section (1) of Section 7 or Section 10, shall be punishable with fine which may extend to ten thousand rupees and, in the case of a continuing contravention, with a further fine which may extend to five hundred rupees for every day after the date of the first conviction during which he is proved to have persisted in the contravention.

During his three-year stay at this town the DTP was able, with the support of his staff, to detect numerous cases of violation of such provisions in the two Acts and initiate legal action against them.

Processing of each one of these cases usually took years and as such trials continued through one hearing after the other, absorbing a major chunk of the DTPs time and energies. We would often buckle under their pressures. So, when the official orders transferring his services to another district town, Karnal, came, he felt somewhat relieved, hoping that he was at long last able to pull himself—even though temporarily—out of this physical and mentally-trying business of running this physical and mentally-trying business of running between his office and the courts of law.

The optimism of the DTP was, however, short-lived, and the long arm of the law soon reached out for him at Karnal. For, after a few weeks of his arrival there, he began receiving summons from the court at Town 'A', requiring of him to appear on specified days in order to testify or bear witness in the several law-

suits he had filed there as DTP.

At first, he took these summons in their stride. But as their frequency mounted, frustration began to creep in. Each trip lasted 2 to 3 days and with half-a-dozen of these summons landing within a short span of time meant several weeks of travelling every quarter of a year. Sometimes, there was hardly a gap of even 3 days in-between two court appearances. As and when such an evnetuality happened, he found himself torn between the thought of either staying back at Town 'A' for the other hearing or that of returning to Karnal. Either way, the consequences were depressing. For, if he stayed back, he worried about his work at his office; if he returned, he worried about travel, accommodation, hours of waiting and sweating inside the cramped court rooms at Town 'A'. Running to bus-stops to catch buses from one town to the other or during the journeys he would often wonder if he would ever have some mental peace, because everytime he returned from Town 'A', there was always the nagging thought of the future court-dates or that of the new summons lurking somewhere in the court there or on their way to him. Moreover, as often the feeling would grip him: where is the recognition, the appreciation for all this hard work?

As he was the 'plaintiff' who started each one of these lawsuits, the court rules demanded that he himself appeared to answer the questions or arguments put forth by the lawyer of the 'defendent' party. No other official from the local district planning office (say, his successor) could fill in for him. Once the trial was on, as the rule stood, he had to appear in the court to present the Department's side of the 'facts' through official documents, physical exhibits and his own oral testimony.

He had by now spent countless manhours in chasing this wild goose. There seemed to be no end to it in the near future. Besides, he was gradually getting involved in similar lawsuits in areas under his new jurisdiction. It was painful to go on like this because, aside from the 'personal costs' inflicted on him in terms

·of his health, the trips cost the public exchequer a sizable
.amount which, as per a very conservative estimate made
by him, came to around Rs. 1 lakh per annum (multiply
that by ten or 12—meaning thereby the DTPs in other
·districts in the State undergoing a similar drill—and you
have added several lakhs to the annual budget of the
·department). Being a public-spirited civil servant and in
his anxiety to help his Department save some of this
unnecessary expense, he wrote to his chief at the State
headquarters and put across three options in a straight
·manner:

1. Permit me to withdraw my name as 'Plaintiff' from
   all those cases: or,
2. Post me at Town 'A' itself until such time that all
   cases go their full circle' or
3. Provide a diesel-run jeep that could carry me to the
   court at Town 'A' in the morning and back home
   in the evining.

The reply took quite some time to arrive from the
State headquarters. When it eventually did, after about
two months, it suggested: Move an application with the
·court at Town 'A' requesting that all cases in which he
·was required to appear be put up for hearing on a single
day.
The application was duly moved but the court turned
it down saying that it was not possible.
At the time of interview with the author the DTP
was due to appear in five hearings, spaced as closely
as the 13th, 16th, 20th and 23rd of that month
at two different towns. Another summons had landed
that very morning.
The pin-pong battle* 'between me and the planning

*A Town Planner in a socialist society like the Soviet Union does
·not have to fritter away an enormous amount of his organizational
·time, money and energy in such go-rounds because all land there is 'public
·property'. There are no private land-owners/colonizers and, hence, no
·question of any stay-orders or resistance. Besides, a town plan there is

laws, on the one hand, and the violators of the planning
laws and the courts, on the other, still continues and so
do my labours of endless travellings. Perhaps the game
will continue even after my retirement', he said, while
heaving a deep sigh.

In the meantime, the list of these 'critical' points in
the external enviroment is getting longer. A look at
Tables 1 and 2 would testify:

TABLE 1   UNAUTHORIZED CONSTRUCTIONS IN
CONTROLLED AREAS

Year	Karnal	Panipat	Madhuban	Prosecution Launched
1974	1	—	—	—
1975	3	—	—	—
1976	4	66	2	—
1977	6	34	8	—
1978	15	70	—	—
1979	10	21	—	—
1980	4	72	6	—
1981	13	89	—	—
1982	18	47	2	7
Dec. 1982	14	48	8	5
	88	483	26	12

This complex inter-relationship with   these 'critical'
points in the external environment have their counterpart
in the internal environment as well.

Take, for instance, resources like transport, petrol,
etc.,   that constitute the material for fulfilment of
organizational goals so far as control of unauthorized
constructions in the Controlled Areas is concerned.
Investigations reveal that these resources are severely

(Continued from previous page)
not merely a forecast of the direction in which the town *may* develop (as
is the case in the West). In the Soviet Union, the town is built as the
State's blueprint proposes. See Abrams, Charles, *Man's Struggle for
Shelter in an Urbanizing World*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass, 1964,.
p. 278.

TABLE 2   NUMBER OF F.I.R.s FILED IN URBAN AREAS

Year	Karnal	Panipat	Madhuban	Gharaunda	Total
1978	11	4	—	—	16
1979	—	25	—	—	25
1980	10	11	—	3	25
1981	20	10	—	2	32
1982	26	27	—	—	53
Dec. 1983	10	43	—	—	53
	77	120	—	5	204

limited and in turn severely limit the Unit's capability to keep an alert eye on the unplanned growth in its jurisdiction (approximately, 6,500 hectares wide area) and to act against them at the right time.

Indeed, the available resources with the Unit (say petrol coupons) in this respect are not only unstable but are dependent upon what is doled out by the Headquarters at irregular intervals. Inquiries also brought out that the Headquarters' ability to allocate resources to different field units in the State is also dependent upon the petrol coupons it receives from the State Government. In order to meet its needs during contingencies the Unit has no other option but to obtain petrol from the local dealer (with whom it has the necessary arrangement) on credit. As a consequence when the Unit at times manages to obtain some additional coupons after several reminders, these are hardly sufficient even to clear the debt with the petrol dealer, much less to buy on payment. Till Novermber, 1983, the Unit owed as much as Rs. 1,697 to the dealer on account of petrol it had received on credit in the preceding months.

The poor working condition to which the old jeep (the only one available with the Unit) has been reduced to over the years further plays down the effectiveness of the Unit. The repairs are so expensive and sanctions from the Headquarters are not easy to obtain. Nor is there any hope of getting a new vehicle.

The Unit is not deficient only in terms of 'non-

human' resources. It is badly stuck up in relation to its 'human' resources as well. First, there has always been the problem of shortage of staff (only 38 against the sanctioned strength of 51). While the problems have been growing with the passage of time, the structure has not. Take the nearby town of Panipat which is also under the jurisdiction of the DTP, Karnal. Because of the decision of the Government of India to locate a couple of prestigious public sector plants there, the town is beginning to experience new pains of growth and deserves the posting of an Assistant Town Planner (with adequate support staff) from Karnal under the supervision of the DTP so that any disorderly growth in that town can be effectively watched and checked in time.

Secondly if a particular component of the Unit has lately been feeling the pinch of strains, it is with regard to the non-availability of staff that is competent to deal with 'legal' matters. The nature of the work that the Unit is supposed to do—issue of legal notices, preparation of cases for prosecution, filing of complaints with courts and first information reports with police stations—demands that the staff member who shoulders the responsibility understands the law and its nuances. Right now, the job is handled by a clerical assistant.

Indeed, if the enforcement of the two Acts (1963 and 1975) is to be vigorously pursued, there is need to locate a full-fledged Assistant District Attorney with adequate staff at Karnal, Presently, the only Assistant Attorney available for help is stationed at Kurukshetra (some 40 kms. away) and he is supposed to provide legal support to two other DTPs, in addition to the one at Karnal.

Before planning can be undertaken, it is apparent, that adequate data must be collected both on the 'physical' and 'functional' character of the town. The 'research' skills of the DTP's Unit are not so strong either and need to be strengthened.

Decision Analysis

Centralisation seems to be fairly widespread in the

Department, and an interesting feature of this phenomenon here is that its 'location' is not just at the upper reaches of the organisation but also at the 'local' (or the DTP) level. As a result, if in the case of the former, decision-making is time-consuming and frustrating to those below, in the case of the latter it leads to an increasingly harried and over-worked Unit-head who cant's halve his load of work with his two Assistant Town Planners just because rules don't permit that.

An interesting dilemma presents itself with regard to centralisation at the top when one stumbles over Section 14 (1) and (2) of the Punjab Scheduled Roads and Controlled Areas (Restriction of Unregulated Development) Act, 1963. It reads:

"14. (1) The Director or any person authorized by the Director by general or special order in this behalf may either before or after the institution of the proceedings compound any offence made punishable by or under this Act.

(2) Where an offence has been compounded the offender, if in custody shall be discharged and no further proceedings shall be taken against him in respect of the offence compounded."

As the decision with respect to 'compounding' in all the widely-scattered Controlled Areas all over the State are made only by the Director at Chandigarh—a very busy-body-for he bears (as stated elsewhere) four titles—and the net result is: (1) it is not easy to establish accountability of the DTP for the violations in his area because he can—if he so wants —indulge in buck-passing; (2) the Director being remotely placed does not get quite a 'feel' of the problems happening out in the field; and (3) the resultant inaction itself contributes to considerable undermining of the overall objectives of the Department.

A half-hearted attempt was, of course, made in 1977 to delegate some power under Section 12 of the 1963 Act to the DTP but this delegation stopped only at that point and did not percolate down to his two Assistant Town Planners in

the full sense of the term. The Office Order said:

> In partial modification of the order dated 22nd December 1974 circulated with endorsement no... dated 6th November 1974, and in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section of section 19 of the Punjab Scheduled Roads and Controlled Areas Restriction of Unregulated Development Act, 1963, and with the approval of the Government, I.... Director, Town and Country Planning, Haryana, hereby delegate my powers and functions under section 12 of the said Act to the Regional Town Planner, Rohtak, and all the Divisional Town Planners and Asst. Town Planners in the State of Haryana in Respect of Controlled Areas falling within their respective jurisdiction with effect from 2nd September 1976.

<div align="right">Sd/-</div>

Copy to............
> All the Assistant Town Planners. The Assistant Town Planners shall exercise these powers only when the Divisional Town Planner happens to be on long leave or the post of the DTP is lying vacant.

Ths Order clearly laid down that the ATPs shall exercise the power delegated to the DTP only if the latter was absent for a longer period. In other words, it meant two things:

(a) Problems—even if they were 'crucial'—could be 'tabled' for a week—or two weeks—and no action was necessary till the DTP returned to work; and

(b) The ATP (Senior) would not take over the command when the DTP was away nor shall the ATP (Junior) take over in the absence of both the DTP and the ATP (senior).

The purpose of this delegation of powers partially stands defeated. In fact, it has put a great deal of pressure on the DTP, with heavy emotional costs to him (see Case problem No. 2). An ATP, like his boss, the DTP, is also a Class I

Officer and there is no reason why he should not be involved in and exposed to higher responsibilities if he is to develop into a mature DTP of the future.*

Centralisation in certain other respects also seems to be bringing heavy costs to the organization. For instance, all powers— even of granting annual increments to all employees in the Department—are vested with the Director at the Headquarters. An erring subordinate in the Unit, deserving of a reprimand from the DTP—cannot be easily disciplined for all the latter can do is to send a 'draft' note to the Headquaters for approval before he can issue it. He may wait for weeks or months while a clerical assistant up there simply 'keeps' that draft note with him. Needless to say, a few such incidents in the Unit, a climate of disrespect for the superior gets automatically built up.

The DTP can't approve of staff journeys' beyond his jurisdiction, with the result delays occur and the productivity of the Unit suffers. He is not authorized to transfer a peon, either.

While delegation of certain powers from above (including staff matters) would certainly go along way in finding solutions for some of the problems encountered by the DTP, certain jobs at the district level can also be delegated from the DTP to his Assistant Town Planners (elaborated in Chapter 7). There are situation when he is caught up in rush jobs (running from one town to another for court appearances), pressures of meetings called by the Deputy Commissioner, commands from above, letters/vouchers/legal notices to be signed, files to be cleared—when all these matters are to be attended to only by one individual, naturally the work suffers. This only shows poor planning of work at the Unit level. And, poor planning would always yield poor results.

Relations Analysis

Normally, the job of a head of a unit is defined in terms of the particular activity he is handling (as also in terms of the activities of his subordinates) and then a judgment is

*Modern management theory emphasizes that one sure way of developing employees down the line is to load them with responsibility

made whether or not he is doing well. But, quite often such an evaluation tends to overlook the 'contribution' that the organizations (or the actors in them) external to him make to the success or failure of his own own activities. It appears that in the case of the DTP this is particularly true when he is to face the problem of demolition of unauthorized structures or filing of F.I.Rs against illegal sale of land with the local police authorities.

If we look at the figure below, it is quite evident that in order to carry out the two above-said objectives all the extra-organizational actors (shown encircling the DTP) should relate themselves to one another, in general, and to the DTP, in particular, and act, as far as possible, as one 'single' system.
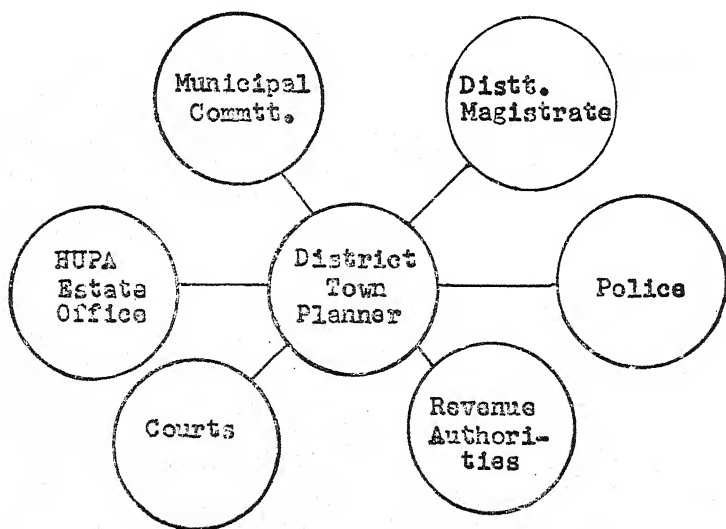
But inquiries shows that, to the great consternation of the DTP's Unit, most of these just try to 'drop out' and more often their reaction is one of not responding to a 'common responsibility' from a larger perspective. To give an example, if an unauthorized structure is to be demolished, the Unit needs a truck, petrol, and a few men to handle the job. But,

he has none of the resources. The local Municipal Committee may have these, and so also the local Estate Office of HUDA. But, generally speaking, neither is prepared to help.

The Unit's goal of stopping illegal sale of agricultural land in urban areas also deserve mention in this context. The records of the land are always with the respective revenue staff but they do not always cooperate. Beside, the books are not quite uptodate. However, when after surmounting some of these hurdles, some cases are detected and at attempt is made to file F.I.R.s with the police, they too seem to insulate themselves from the problem.

Thus the analysis shows that even if the DTP and the staff members of his Unit were totally devoted to their jobs, the goals of his unit/organization shall remain unrealized because of these obstacles in the environment, for the effectiveness of his functioning, as we have seen, is to a considerable extent, determined by forces outside his own unit/organization. He is not, in other words, a totally free agent, so far enforcement of the State's will in urban planning and development is concerned. One wonders, in fact, whether the issue does not raise here broad social and organizational questions in our contemporary society?

'Human' side/Emotional Milieu

The human side of an organization brings to mind factors, such as, leadership style of superiors, opportunities for growth, inter-personal relationship, team spirit, organizational climate, etc., that affect the attitudes of the employees and their motivation to work.

Watching the subordinates behave in the presence of their superiors—tight-lipped and downcast—or the superiors issuing commands, the first thing that can perhaps be said about the human side of this organization is that the people tended to put more emphasis on authority and status. Conversation with the employees did not reveal motivation, initiative or joy for work. A question like "How do you find working here" usually evoked the typical Indian reply, tingled with a sense of fatalism: "Well, what can one do. One must suffer if things don't improve". Or, "Well, plodding it on the job somehow".

As could be expected, 'salary' was the focus of comments by many. A 'technical hand' found fault with the salary structure: A clerical assistant in Administration here, he said, was placed in the same pay-scale as he and others of his category (Rs. 550-1050) even though the nature of work being done by them was both specialized and complex. Besides, a clerical assistant was only a matriculate, whereas he was an M.A. (B.A. was the minimum qualification for the job, he added).

As regards 'opportunities for growth', there were different people with different expectations. There were those, for example, for whom promotions had come rightabout the time they expected, but others complained bitterly. 'They are too slow to come, particularly for people 'like us' (field investigators). 'Even a collective effort (in the form of a representation) did not cut much ice', one of them lamented.

It is not the employees at the lower echelon who were the victims of some sort of a motivational crisis; the Head of the Unit, too, seemed to be vulnerable—though for different reasons, such as illogical delegation of powers and the resultant under-employment of the two Assistant Town Planners in the Unit, inadequacy of both human and non-human resources, and so on.

What kind of a view of employees prevails in the organization: a 'machine' view or a 'human resources' view? Perhaps the best way to answer the question is to share the experience of one of the employees, as put forth in the narration below:

CASE PROBLEM 3

It was a typical mid-summer day. A staffer of a national research body had called at the District Town Planner's (DTP) Office that morning to carry on his earlier explorations into the degree of effectiveness of the DTP's organization in discharging its responsibilities as one of the front-ranking local agencies involved in urban planning and development of the town. This was his third such visit.

The scheduled meeting with the DTP, however, could not materialize. For, the Governor of the State was

going to be in the town that forenoon and the DTP had been called away by the Deputy Commissioner of the district to help him in making the necessary arrangements. In his absence, therefore, it was one of his two immediate deputies, the Assistant Town Planner-I (ATP-I) who agreed to talk about the organization and answer the researcher's queries. The ATP-I was a Class I Officer of the state government (like the DTP and their common superiors, such as, the Senior Town Planners and the Chief Town Planner). He has had a fairly long innings as a planner at the State Department of Town and Country Planning and had been working in the DTP's Unit for quite some time. In his early fifties, the ATP-I was an unassuming and soft-spoken person. He believed in going about his work in a quiet manner and never indulged in 'politicking around'.

The ATP-I and the researcher seated themselves in the tiny office-room of the DTP and were soon absorbed in the discussions. But, these had barely gone on for an hour or so when the rhythm of the discussions was suddenly broken by the sound of a vehicle screeching to a halt outside. The ATP-I looked through the glass-door and said: 'The 'boss' from the Headquarters has arrived.' As he stood there, eyeing his visitor, a vague uneasiness swept over his face and the poise and balance, he appeared to exhibit a little while before, were all gone.

Next minute, the 'boss' stepped into the room, with the ATP-I bowing slightly and greeting him. There was no acknowledgement of the ATP-I's greetings, however. Yet, gracefully motioning the visitor towards the DTP's chair, he requested him to be comfortable. The 'boss' went round the little table and then slumped into the DTP's chair.

'Where is Paul (meaning the DTP)'?, he asked as soon as he settled into the chair. On being told about the whereabouts of the DTP that morning, he appeared to be somewhat surprised and upset. There was a hint in his bearing and glance suggesting that he did not approve of the absence of the DTP form his office when he happened to be visiting it (of course the DTP had no

advance information about the visit).

There was an awkward silence in the room for a few seconds and then the ATP-I broke in: 'Sir, what would you prefar, hot or cold'? The ATP-I once again got no answer, not even a nod. Knowing that the 'boss' had the reputation of being bossy and arrogant, he quietly parted to ask a peon outside to get the drinks and returned to the room.

In the meantime, the 'boss' pressed the call-bell on the DTP's table to call in a peon. Pulling out his wallet he handed some money to the peon to fetch him immediately a pack of 'king size' cigarettes. Then, he turned his attention to making a few phone calls: first to someone in the town itself and later to an acquaintance in another town he was to pass through on his way to Delhi (for a meeting with the Central Government officials). The ATP-I (who was asked to make the calls) sat on a stool nearby rather stiffly all those 15-20 minutes, phoning for his Chief.

The phone calls were somewhat slow to get through. The 'boss' stared at the researcher briefly and asked: 'What is your area of academic interest'?

'Well, you might call me a student of organizational analysis and behaviour. . .'

His reply however petered out here, for that very moment the ATP-I managed to get someone on phone the 'boss' wanted to talk to.

Having finished with the phone calls, the 'boss' asked the ATP-I to go to his car and get him his diary from his brief case. The ATP returned with a sort of diary in his hands but that was not the one wanted by the boss. With his face twisted through anger, he nearly shouted at the ATP-I: 'Didn't you hear me properly? I said, the diary in the b-r-i-e-f c-a-s-e' (pulling the last two words a bit longer). As the ATP about-turned, the Chief was heard to murmer: 'Good for nothing'.

Running briskly out and then back into the room and performing the chore of almost a messenger boy, the ATP-I this time took no chance and brought in the brief case itself. He looked tense and nervous. Mean-

while, the cold drinks had arrived and so also the peon who had gone for the cigarettes. But, these were not the 'king-size' and his explanation was that the desired cigarettes were not available nearby (the DTP's office was located in a residential area). 'Take my car, and get them quickly', the boss snorted, visibly irritated by the inordinate delay in getting the cigarettes.

Some 10 minutes later, he suddenly stood up, drained his cold drink, looked condescendingly at the researcher, shook hands with him, and then walked out of the room without waiting for others to finish their drinks. The ATP-I followed suit.

During his 40-odd minute stayed at the DTP's Office the boss raised no organizational issues/problems with the ATP-I, did not meet the ATP-II, and nor did he make an appearance in the hall where most of the junior staff members sat and worked.

It is not that work in the Unit does not go on. But, does it proceed in a willing, cooperative manner? Are all inter-actions and inter-relationships supportive of organizational goals—the overall organizational climate does not appear to suggest that?

IDSMT: TOWN LEVEL MACHINERY (EXECUTION)
('Circle Unit' of HUDA's Engineering Wing
at Karnal as the Execution Agency)

Responsibility for the execution of the IDSMT Scheme at Karnal was lodged with the Circle Unit of HUDA's Engineering Wing at Karnal. The head of this Unit is a Superintending Engineer (SE) and he has the overall responsibility for the projects executed under its auspices. The 'Circle' is divided into 'Divisions' (each headed by an Executive Engineer) and 'Sub-Divisions' (headed by an Assistant Engineer)—most of them geographically separated from each other. For example, one of the Divisions is located at Kurukshetra, a town, some 35 kms. away.

The SE is presently supported by four Executive Engineer, 16 Assistant Engineers, 64 Junior Engineers and other technical and clerical personnel—totalling about 200

Activity Analysis

No account of the Scheme's execution shall be intelligible without grasping a few facts about the functioning of this 'Circle' Unit:

1. Its basic task is to plan, design and execute various engineering projects connected with development of land, such as, provision of roads, water supply, sewerage, storm water drainage, electrification and other infrastructural facilities like, shopping complex, community building, and a host of others.

    (The work involving 'execution' is however entrusted to the private contractors through the process of 'open tenders'. After the contracts have been awarded, the Circle machinery then supervises the performance of these private contractors).

2. As and when the idea of a new urban estate is finalized by the policy-makers of HUDA, the Engineering Wing first tries to help select the area for development by carrying out a feasibility study—the primary purpose being to test the: (a) flood-ability of the area concerned, and (b) availability of water in it. The study (conducted by a team*) takes about three months. A request is then made by HUDA's own land acquisition division (comprising three officers) to the State Department of Urban Estates, initiating steps for acquisition of land in accordance with the 1894 Act. The process takes about 1-3 years.

3. After the land has been acquired, and passed over to HUDA by the Department of Urban Estates, the layout plan for the area to be developed is prepared by the Department of Town and Country Planning.

    At the local (town) level, the Circle Unit begins to gear up its machinery. First and foremost, it is the District Town Planner who comes to the front and helps the Superintending Engineer draw up the detailed lay-out scheme of the new urban estate (if that is

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*The team consists of, among others, the Superintending Engineer and his Executive Engineer in the area being examined and an Engineer from the Irrigation Department of PWD who is a specialist in drainage systems.

what is intended to be developed—to give an example). The detailed plan is then fed to the Headquarters (*i.e.*, the Chief Administrator, HUDA, who is also the Director/Joint Secretary, Department of Town and Country Planning).

4. In the meantime, the "rough cost estimates" for services such as water supply, sewerage, storm water drainage and others are prepared by the Executive Engineer (incharge) and passed on to the Chief Administrator, HUDA, through the Superintending Engineer at Karnal and the Chief Engineer at Chandigarh, for according administrative approval.

   (It may be pointed out, however, that although detailed estimates should be prepared before calling of tenders but to save time steps to call tenders are initiated on the basis of "rough cost estimates" and work is awarded to the contractor/s (limited to those registered with HUDA).

5. Limits have been laid under which some of the superior officers have the financial authority to accord administrative approval for projects.
   These are as under:

	Rs.
Superintending Engineer	5,000
Chief Engineer	50,000
Chief Administrator	5,00,000
Finance Committee	Beyond 5 lakhs

6. On receipt of the administrative approval from the Headquarters, the process of 'execution' starts. The layout plan is actually *laid* on the ground—to use the engineering jargon—and the roads and plots are marked on the ground. Discrepancy, if any, is sorted out with the District Town Planner. At the 'execution' stage, first preference is always accorded to provision of water supply, sewerage, and roads (generally taken up simultaneously) in the entire sector. The idea behind this priority is that what a plot-holder first needs is a road to his plot and water for construction

purposes. Sewerage also comes along because he would ask sewerage connection soonafter the construction of the house is over (which takes about 9 months to one year). Storm-water drainage facility is provided afterwards. The electricity component of development which is contracted out to the State Electricity Board is also set into motion at about the same time when water-supply, etc., get under way. All these amenities are provided in the entire sector, irrespective of the density of population in an upcoming urban estate. It is only the facility of community buildings which waits till settlement has picked up.

While there have been numerous changes in the spatial environment of Karnal over the years (planned or unplanned), there are some that can however be attributed to the 'planned' efforts of the Circle Unit of HUDA in this town. These are in the form of three urban estates (work on others in progress). Let us briefly look at how it has gone about meeting the housing needs of the people in this medium-sized town.

'Sector 13' was the first urban estate built by the Circle Unit at Karnal. The site covered about 97 hectares and the size of the residential plots ranged from 65 to 500 sq. yards. The construction work on it began in 1975 and ended in 1979.

The other two urban estates developed by it are: Sector 13 (Ext.) and Sector 14.

The details of the number of plots and their sizes in the three urban estates are as under:

SECTOR 13

Category	No. of Plots
500 sq. yards	251
350 ,, ,,	297
250 ,, ,,	1009
160 ,, ,,	627
65 ,, ,,	244
	2428

SECTOR 13 (EXT.)

250 sq. Yards	103
200 ,, ,,	24
160 ,, ,,	246
116 ,, ,,	249
90 ,, ,,	192
65 ,, ,,	138
40 ,, ,,	209
	1161

SECTOR 14

500 sq. yards	120
350 ,, ,,	61
250 ,, ,,	101
200 ,, ,,	43
160 ,, ,,	143
	468

In order to sum up what has been stated above and to make it easier to understand what is involved in the 'execution' process at the Circle level, we may divide the whole activity into two stages:

Planning Stage: Preparation of cost estimates, time schedules, etc., by an Executive Engineer, scrutiny by the Superintending Engineer and their transmission to the Chief Engineer/Chief Administrator at the Headquarters for approval;

Action Stage: Calling of tenders from private/contractors, assigning different works to different parties, and supervision of the progress of work by the field staff consisting of Assistant/Junior Engineers and others.

In the planning stage, the average time taken for preparation of cost estimates and time schedules for a project involving

84 hectares of land and Rs. 345 Lakhs as costs is: 6 months. This involves preparation of estimates, scrutiny by the Superintending Engineer, the Chief Engineer and its transmission to Chief Administrator. The average time for obtaining administrative approval from Headquarters ranges from 6 months to 2 years.

> (I would however like to interject two notes of caution here: (1) speaking of the average planning time, I am really talking about the average of a great many diverse projects, and (2) this average is valid only insofar as it gives us some idea of what is happening at this 'implementation' agency level (Karnal Circle of HUDA's Engineering Wing) and not necessarily at all Circles throughout the State.)

However, if the length of time taken for preparation of cost-estimates is substracted from the *total* "planning stage" time, it would be found that a large chunk of the time is really consumed by the second part of the 'planning stage', namely, approval of estimate by the authorities at the Headquarters.

The average time for executing such a project—I was informed—is about two years.

Decision Analysis

Six months to 2 years—to take a decision on estimates of project—if that is the rule rather than an exception (as seems to be the case with HUDA), here is the rub. For, as has been said, the top management is paid to be a decision-maker and its worth is judged by the average time taken by it to reach a decision.

Evidence points strongly to the conclusion that a significant 'resource' that does not seem to have yet found its way in the calculus of decision-makers in HUDA is: TIME. After all, 'Time is money', says the old adage, and when we are wasting 'time' in reaching a decision, we really are wasting 'money'.

Indeed, a careful analysis would show that 'time' as an organizational-resource is relevant for HUDA from many angles. For example, thinking of its various activities as a

chain, it is apparent that longer the time taken by decision-makers, longer shall be the time taken to execute project and develop a piece of land. These delays shall, in turn, impair the effectiveness of HUDA's local Estate Office for it cannot sell any plots unless developed land is available. Because, no plots can be sold, so no houses shall be built for those who need housing—let alone recovering HUDA's heavy investment of capital that goes into developmental projects. An interplay of all these inactions and their reactions would show that in ultimate analysis everyone who is part of this game is a loser: The HUDA, the house seekers, as also the Municipal Committee which cannot collect its taxes till the new gleaming houses in an urban state have come up.

The value of top management in an organisation, says Boyd, is the speed and quality of decision it makes. If these delays in decision-making are the results of too much 'fence-sitting', the consequences—as we have seen above—are truly harsh, particularly for the people involved in the 'planning stage'. Because when the estimates prepared by them take too long in securing the approval from the top, two organizational consequences follow: (*a*) costs ascalate, and (*b*) the field staff have to go through the exercise of revising the estimate again, upsetting not merely the schedule but also upsetting them 'mentally',—a sure plunge towards motivational mortality in the workforce.

If the decision-makers at the Headquarters are too busy people, having little time to look at these estimates as they come in from the field units, this calls for a serious look at the decision-making machinery at the Headquarters and its composition. Perhaps in arriving at decisions of this kind some kind of 'joint consultation' with the field-level executives (like the SEs) would be useful so that every bit of information bearing on the decision, the task and its various ramifications is brought forward and assimilated by all the decision-makers.

The present practice of the field unit sending a report after a project has been executed does not serve any useful purpose. There is the need for an on-going post-mortem, an

[1]Boyd Bradford B., *Management-Minded Supervisor, op. cit.*, p. 278.

inquest which would compare at regular interval the 'planned' with the 'achievements' and fasten the blame (or the credit) with particular individuals.

Once the grassroot manager (the SE, for example) is involved (or consulted) in the decision-making process, becomes a party to the decision taken, and given the responsibility for achieving the set targets, it is equally important that he is given greater control over his resources, especially his control over the staff matters.

However, the trend in these matters—I was told—has not been lately towards 'greater independence' but rather 'greater control' from above.

For example, earlier, a Superintending Engineer was authorized to engage 'work-charged' employees on 'monthly basis'. But, sometime back this authorization was withdrawn and he is allowed to engage them only on 'daily wages'. A pump operator is a work-charged employee. He handles a job of great responsibility—imagine, there would be no water supply in the entire urban estate if he reports or just cooks-up a fault somewhere in the pumping machine. Putting him on 'daily wages' has come to him as a serious irritant, for no wages are payable to him for Sundays and holidays. So, the first below is to his motivation. But, what worries the Superintending Engineer most is that 'suppose the pump-operator finds a regular job one day, he just won't report for work to us next morning and we shall have no one to ensure supply of water to our residents'.

In addition to the pump operators, all fitters/maintenance staff (equally indispensable for ensuring regular supply of water to residents) have also been put on 'daily wages'. A net result of these latest instructions has been that a small financial incentive (if one cares to call that) that could be used to improve performance of such 'indispensable men' has gone outside the hand of the man-on-the-spot, the Superintending Engineer.

As in the case of the Department of Town and Country Planning, all powers of punishment and control of the regular field staff are vested with the Chief Administrator (who is also Director, Town and country Planning) and the Superintending Engineer has no way of preventing—like the District

Town Planner—disappointments/dissatisfactions of willing workers or taking corrective action against the unwilling ones.

When authority and control do not follow operational needs but are retained at the top and 'top executive' happens to be the 'same official' in respect of two large organizations, with operations scattered all over the State, it would not be surprising if organizational effectiveness is gradually impaired.

Relations Analysis

Which are the outside organizations that the Circle Unit has to work with in order to get its things done? The ones that become immediately visible are:

1. Private contractors;
2. Government departments, e.g.,

   (*a*) Building and Roads Division of PWD;
   (*b*) Irrigation Division of PWD;
   (*c*) District Town Planner's Unit.

Although all of these affect the Circle's web of activities in one way or the other, yet it is the role and influence of the 'private contractors'' that most often threaten to destablilize the Circle's effectiveness. The reason being: their primary objective of 'maximisation of profit'. For, as soon as they discover, when the works are in progress, that they are likely to end up in a loss (because of miscalculations at the time of filling-in tenders or rise in prices of raw materials) or the profit is not going to be as high as they expected, they react by causing disturbances through several means: (*a*) delay in the execution of the project, (*b*) use of substandard raw materials, or (*c*) just careless and unmethodical style of functioning resulting in poor quality of work.

As the attitudes of most of these private contractors are not moderated or tempered with what that call in the West "a sense of social responsibility", the only way HUDA can overcome the negative/effect of these external influences or control them is to say goodbye to the practice of getting its works executed by them and think in terms of the

challenging question: Can HUDA do the complete 'execution' job itself (instead of merely supervising what private contractors have executed) by engaging its own engineering and managerial skills? But, that would mean facing the stupendous task of total organizational renewal and development.

Human Side/Emotional Milieu

Like any typical governmental agency, this Unit, too has its own set of people who, for a variety of reasons (of course, each guided by his own different motives and perceptions) stand alienated from their jobs. Many, for example, are resentful because of stagnation at a particular level for as many as ten years. Of all the people, those who are passing through mental stress because of this reason, are the Junior Engineers (incidentally, the largest aggregate of a single-category of supervisory staff in this Circle). One of them said:

> We may spend all our lives (he corrected himself immediately and said: I mean 'a period as long as 15 years) working here but the chances of getting a promotion are rather remote.

Another touched on this point as follows:

> Read all my annual confidential reports. They are all 'excellent'. But, what is the use of all such reports?

The question 'Are your superiors concerned about your career prospects', brought forth the reply: "No one here is concerned about another man's prospects. Moreover, even if he is, what difference does it make. My immediate superiors have no say in these matters".

How about his own consciousness about such feelings amongst the members of the workforce under him? "My responsibility is to get work out of them—in the same way as those above me try to get work out of me. That is all".

This attitude seemed to be typical of most of the supervisors at different levels.

The Head of the Circle, when reminded that the process

of management consisted of four basic functions, namely, planning, organizing, motivating, and controlling, and what, according to him, was the most neglected one in HUDA, he replied: 'Motivating'. In fact, the meaning or the significance of this term is just not understood here, much less practised.

(Earlier I had put the same question to the Chief Engineer at Chandigarh and, surprisingly, his answer was identical).

Asked if he had ever heard of names, like, Maslow, Herzberg, McGregor,[2] an Executive Engineer in the Circle flatly said: No. Ever sent for training—'Never'. 'There is no such policy here', he added.

"What to speak for 'opportunities for development through training elsewhere', personnel practices within HUDA do not seem to show much concern with whatever little 'training' we try to impart ourselves', said the Superintending Engineer. Elaborating the point, he said:

> The clerks in our Audit Section must possess a considerable amount of knowledge and understanding of how the account books are written and maintained (checking contractors' bills, stores accounts, writing of ledgers, etc.). The work is somewhat specialized, and a good deal of our effort goes into training them. But, suddenly they are transferred and we are saddled with clerks from the Urban Estate Office where the accounting methods are totally different and we have to start with the 'new arrivals' all over again. That causes at times considerable disorder in our work and efficiency.

The work flow was also sometimes erratic (as in the case of a part of the IDSMT Scheme in the town). "No funds, and so no work and a large amount of organizational energy goes waste", said a technical hand who had been with one of the Division within the Circle for a long time. "When there is no work, what do you expect the people here to do? They would only shuffle papers, or just talk shop".

Implied in the above response was perhaps the inability

[2]Three of the better-known behavioural scientists in the West today.

to find job satisfaction and the suggestion that if there were short intervals of idleness, the blame should go to the management.

Research has shown that employees expect a great deal more than money from their jobs: participation, recognition and award for better performance, leadership from the superiors, and so on. Most of the supervisory level people here do not seem to have established any contact with these research findings and no wonder that non-financial motivational practices which sometimes give the greatest payoff to management are not known and practised here, either.

7 ISSUES IN FOCUS

The 'Ideal'

The concept of 'integrated development' is the outstanding feature of the IDSMT Scheme. While opinions may vary as to what is the full significance of the term and how it is to be achieved, the idea however is not new. For, there are shining examples of men, particularly during the early days of the Industrial Revolution in the West who ventured to experiment with utopias related to the concept of 'integrated development' and attempted to design and shape the character of human society/town-building in their own unique manner—though the efforts they made were restricted to small communities of workers in the then-newly emerging urban areas.

One such man was *Robert Owen* (1771-1858) the proprietor of a cotton mill at New Lanark in Scotland. He had not only bought the mill but also the village in which it was located. The village he took over was a typical mill-village of those early days of industrial revolution in England—'ugly, insanitary and impoverished". The entire area was cleaned up from one end to another. New dwellings were built for the workers (total population: 2,500) and these were surrounded by large gardens. On the other side of the houses were the factories and workshops. A new drainage system was also laid out. Encircling the village was a main roadway and beyond all sides was the agricultural belt ranging from 1,000 to 1,500 acres.[1] In short, he took a systems approach to not only organization development but to wider issues in real life also.

[1] The village became almost a kind of 'tourist' centre and between 1815—1825 the number of names recorded in the Visitors' book there was nearly 20,000, including the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia. See Owen, Robert, *A New View of Society*, Macmillan, London, 1972, p. XVII.

The other idealists somewhat belonging to Owen's ilk were: the Rochdale Pioneer (1844), and J.S. Buckingham (1849). Inspired by their examples, many other industrial owners also tried to provide for 'model towns'/communities for their workers. To name a few: Sir Titus Salt in England (1852); the Krupp Family in Germany (1865); George Cadbury in England (1879); and M. Minier in France (1874). Several industrialists in the United States, too, emulated their counterparts in Europe and the better-known amongst them is: Pullman in Illinois (1881).[2]

So far as the term 'integrated' is concerned, its meaning is clear and hardly needs any elaboration. 'To combine (parts) into a whole', so explains the concise Oxford Dictionary. What then, are the principal parts or facets of a town or a city in the context of urban planning. Three of them can be easily discerned: (1) Physical or spatial; (2) Functional or Economic; and, (3) Social or human community. Translating these distinct facets in the context of the term 'integrated, it is apparent that all the three are so inter-related to each other that a change in one brings about a change in the other/s.

Looked at from the interrelationship between the 'spatial' and the 'functional/economic', it 'will be noted that there is a definite pattern in the dispersal or concentration of economic activities in the space of a given town/city. Location of an industry in a town, for example, shall influence factors, such as, change in the employment of people in the town, their level of income, demand for certain raw materials, marketing facilities for the finished goods, need for roads and transportation, and so on. Says Lalit K. Sen, 'Thus, in the context of integrated area development' when activities or functions are proposed, the location of such functions become extremely important. An appropriate location of a new function may start a chain raction of development with far-reaching effects. An understanding of functional interrelationships in space, therefore, goes a long way toward the development of an area.'

[2]Arthur B. Gallion and Simon Eisner, *The Urban Pattern*: *City Planning Design*, D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, 1963, pp. 71-72.

Carrying the analysis further, Sen argues: "The idea of an 'appropriate location' is by definition 'selective'. In other words, each and every settlement cannot have each and every function. All functions of different orders, therefore, needs to be located in the most appropriate place. It must be pointed out that this selective location is by no means 'discriminatory'. Higher-level settlements have their own hinterland which include those of 'lower-level' settlements. The location of a specific function in a specific settlement is meant not only for the 'centre' but also for its 'dependent territory'. The pattern of linkages between the centre and its territory may need strengthening but the appropriate location of functions will necessarily be in the central place itself."[3]

Integrated area development is also concerned with the development of 'backward areas'. If the existing hierarchy of settlement in a particular region is utilized for formulating a development plan, then areas faraway from important centres of economic activity may remain permanently underdeveloped. Some inducement for growth is, therefore, necessary in backward areas in the form of overheads and infrastructures in selective locations. The nature of investment will of course depend on the potential resources of the backward area and on the expected multiplier effects of the investment. This in effect is the 'idea of decentralisation'. Integrated development is thus based on two things:

1. Idea of Selectivity, and
2. Decentralisation.

Decentralisation is seen here on a regional level between the rich and the poor areas. But the actual location of developmental programmes in both the rich and the poor areas is selective.

The decentralisation and the actual location of functions need to be done within the framework of a region, encompassing both urban and rural sectors. In the past, the

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[3]Lalit K. Sen and others, *Growth Centres in Raichur: an Integrated Area Development Plan for a District in Karnataka,* National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1975, pp. 3-4.

development of these two sectors has been kept separate (like metropolitan cities and the small and medium towns) and the towns could not be utilized for the development of rural areas. It is needless to say that the separation of the urban from the rural is arbitrary and harmful from the point of view of development of a region', says Sen.

In short, the integrated all round development of a town means that it is an organic social whole of progressively larger dimensions—the immediate neighbourhood, the town, the region and the nation. And, a town that has reached such a stage of 'integration' can possibly make much more efficient use of both its 'human' and 'material' resources, for it shall be a town in which not only the needs of all classes, ages and interests are met but is also in tune with 'ecological' imperatives.

The notion of the possibility or desirability of an integrated or a balanced 'community' within a town, however, has its sceptics, for the debate tends to recede into the realm of political ideologies (broadly speaking, socialist and conservative); or, to put it otherwise, 'mixed-class neighbourhoods' (class-less) or 'class neighbourhoods'. Different planners may advocate different strategies in this respect, but class segregation in towns was questioned by the former Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, not long ago:

'I don't approve of separate social status. This is what is keeping us down because weaker people when they are separated from others can never raise their standard of living. One of the great things that the authorities in Singapore have done while providing housing is that they have taken care to see that in every building there are people of all classes, doing different types of work and belonging to different races. . . . They went out of their way to see that in every building there should be a mixture of the population because they reasoned that it is only this way that integration could be achieved. We must also see that we don't segregate people. It is no use saying we are providing these houses to Harijans,

so let us put them two miles out of the village.'[4]

Something of the spirit of an "integrated or balanced community" is also captured in the following passage:

Civilisation is not measured by inventions alone; it is measured rather by the extent to which the people share the benefits these inventions make possible. Progress is not guaged by comparisons of an aboriginal village with a city; it is more accurately appraised by the degree to which the people have participated in the advantages of each. Standards and quality are relative and it is the contrast between the environment of the privileged and that of the poor which provides the yardstick of the freedom and happiness enjoyed the people in any period.[5]

From 'Ideal' to 'Real'

Having spelt out the 'intuitive' or the 'ideal', we may now move to the 'real', *i.e.*, the actual settings and see for ourselves whether we find there 'integration' or 'disharmony' in the:

1. town of Karnal, as a functional unit; and
2. administrative machinery responsible for bringing about the desired goal.

Town: 'Physical' Aspects

Karnal is a 'dated' town and, as we have already seen (Chapter 3), its old part is marked by pockets of physical deterioration, archaic streets, outmoded living environment and mixed land-uses, leading to conditions of overcrowding and congestion.

Historically, planned development of the town is a recent phenomenon. It wasn't there until the Karnal improvement Trust made its appearance in 1959. But, as reported elsewhere in the book, the agency was hardly allowed to fulfil its obligations to the urban problems of the town—

[4]Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Background Papers, *National Symposium on Urban Development*, February 19-21, 1976, City Municipal Council, Hospet, Karnataka.

'thanks' to the cross-fire of the different political parties into which it was caught for a number of years. As time passed, slums grew at a more rapid rate then they were being 'improved' (of course, never cleared).

The only other instrument available to the town during that period that could stem the disorderly growth or launch new improvement scheme was the local municipal committee. But, here was an administrative machinery that had lacked, for a long time, adequate resources to deal with the critical problems it faced in this regard. A traditional structure, decades—old rules and procedures, untrained and inadequate manpower—all had combined to sap its vitality and effectiveness. (Chapter 8)

Indeed, the supreme irony of the town of Karnal is that nearly ninety per cent of the urban area that suffers from haphazard growth and cries for immediate attention lies within the municipal bounds and therefore the singular responsibility that the task imposes on the municipal committee is self-evident.

There are numerous random land tracts that lie scattered throughout the municipal confines. These have continued to acts as green signals for unauthorized occupation and construction for a long time. In fact, the depth to which this abuse on open stretches of land in Karnal has reached is best illustrated by a housing-cum-commercial scheme (covering an area of 123 acres) that was once framed by the Karnal Improvement Trust some 10 years ago. The scheme however never took off, partly because the Improvement Trust could not find its feet and partly because of a successful writ petition filed by the land-owners against the scheme. While the illegal constructions and the resultant confusion continues unabated, the legal hitch that now stands in the way of development of this land is that unless the Improvement Trust (now defunct) 'officially' drops the scheme, the Haryana Urban Development Authority cannot take it up.[6]

Though 'chemical pollution' is no major concern for the

[6]Minutes of the Meeting of the District-level Advisory Committee for Review of the Town, held on October 27, 1983.

town yet, but the present arrangement of emptying the town's sewage into an open 'nala' outside the town is surely a serious problem for other communities living on the periphery of the town.

The town has, of course, its 'West End' the newly-built, brighter parts. However, the expansion of these new parts is also getting out of control in many ways. The most disturbing aspect is the mushroom emergence of stores and shops in some of these residential areas.

A Development Plan drawn up by the District Town Planner's Unit at Karnal has already been released but it represents only a set of ideas. Will the commitment, the integrity and the unflinching will of the political bosses and the officialdom, both at the State and the local level, be forthcoming to enforce these—is a question that only the time will answer.

'Economic' Aspects

The idea of economic balance or integration raises the issue of stability/instability of industry or business at Karnal and their impact, *inter alia*, upon employment opportunities.

As of today, the economy of the town is dominated by a single industry, namely, the agro-based industry. In the opinion of planners, the reliance of a town on a single industry can sometimes prove disastrous if there is a trade-slump in that particular industry and that throws thousands of people out of work (after all, in ultimate analysis it is availability of 'work'—particularly for the dispossessed—which provides the material basis for physical survival, apart from economic sustenance of the town).

The best immunity against such a possibility in future is therefore diversification of industries involving a variety of occupations. Economically, a balanced town cannot come up all by itself. To obtain such a stage, a planned intervention is called for. That is to say, if the 'right' industries are shy of coming to Karnal, certain inducements have to be offered.

Enquiries made by me of the concerned authorities revealed that the Government of Haryana was making an all-out effort to woo the Indians settled abroad (the informant

pointed to the trip undertaken by the Chief Minister last year to the United States and some European countries in this connection) with the help of certain concessions so that they can make industrial investments in the State of Haryana, particularly in the industrial estates being promoted by the Haryana Urban Development Authority. Whether the 'location' of the anticipated industries—if at all they come or as and when they materialize—would be determined in accordance with a carefully thoughtout 'integrated development' plan or not—a clear picture in this regard was not available.

'Community' Aspects

A high degree of class segregation in housing is evident in Karnal. As in most other towns and cities in India, one does not find the rich and the poor living next door to one another. It is also a situation where different strata of society live in different areas—a case of geographical separation reinforcing, in its own way, social stratification. There are areas dominated by the upper classes (Chaura Bazar, the Civil Lines, parts of new urban estates), by the middle classes (Model town, some parts of the old towns and the new urban estates), and the weaker sections (the ten slums in and around the town).

The new 'official' development (i.e., the urban estates being developed by the Haryana Urban Development Authority), of course, can be called 'mixed neighbourhoods' but these urban estates appear to be built largely to serve the needs of those who have sufficient money. Sector 13, for example, has 251 houses built at the scale of 500 sq. yards each, 2977 to 350 sq. yards, 1009 to 250 sq. yards, 627 to 160 sq. yards, but only 244 houses to 65 sq. yards. Most of the people who have built houses in this estate—I was told—are from the affluent sections and many amongst them already own houses in the town and are using their new houses to reap the benefit of high rents.

There is yet another side to this 'urban development'. As per HUDA's claims, the 65 sq. yards. plots are meant for the weaker sections of the society. But, this claim virtually appears to show neglect of the 'economics' of buying or building even a small house in the urban areas of today's

India. It is common knowledge that a person who truly belongs to the weaker sections of the society (say, a rickshaw puller) and who barely manages to earn 10-15 rupees a day after paying the daily rental to the rickshaw-owner can never save—even if he were to work all the 24 hours a day— Rs. 35,00 (or thereabout) to provide his family with a small 2-room dwelling unit in such urban estates. The term 'weaker sections', as being used by HUDA, is, therefore, a misnomer and does not appear to take into account the objective realities of the economic life in the country today. Incidentally, the State Housing Board which in 1974 built some houses in Sector 13 for the so-called 'weaker sections' priced them @ Rs. 9,000 (it may however be noted that for the time being, it has decided to stop building such houses in view of the ever-increasing costs).

The town has yet to venture into the field of slum improvement in a serious, concerted manner. Interviews with the municipal-level policy-makers showed that slum improvement was considered by them only a 'secondary' and not a 'primary' problem of urban planning and development and, hence, not placed so far in the framework of their conception of 'integrated development' of the town. The swimming pool story, set in the case problem that follows, throws ample light on these organizational values.

CASE PROBLEM 4

It all began back in 1977 when then Union Ministry of Education and Social Welfare (the apex national agency charged with the responsibility of aiding and stimulating expansion of sports facilities in the country at large) sent out to the various State Governments a circular offering to meet, under a new scheme, a part of the expenditure for the construction of swimming pools at appropriate places, if the State Governments so desired.

The circular from the Union Ministry was, in turn, sent around to the Deputy Commissioners of all the districts in the State of Haryana. The idea sounded attractive to Deputy Commissioner of Karnal district who was a great sports enthusiast. Across the landscap of Karnal, the district headquarters town, there was a small stadium

but no swimming pool where the future champions in aquatic sports for the State could be bred and trained. He prodded and persuaded the Administrator of the local municipality (in whom were then vested all the power of the superseded elected council) to respond to the proposal from the Union Ministry and the ball was, thus, set rolling for the construction of swimming pool in the town.

The Union Ministry, soon thereafter, approved—on recommendation of the All India Council of Sports, a grant of Rs. 1,00,000 to the government of Haryana (Department of Sports) and, to begin with, sanctioned the payment of Rs. 50,000 for transmission to the Administrator of the town's municipality.

In the meantime, both the Deputy Commissioner and the Administrator of the municipality were shifted to other posts in the State in the course of routine transfers. Indeed, there were a few more waves of such transfers later and the project, thus, did not take off the ground.

By then, however, the task of preparing a blueprint for the proposed swimming pool had been entrusted to the Chief Architect of the Government of Haryana. He produced a design of an ultra-modern pool (50 meter long) approxmiating to international specifications.

The estimated costs were so prohibitive (Rs. 22 lakhs, some 5 years ago) that as time passed, the municipality began to realize that, with its own hand-to-mouth existence, it would virtually be impossible for it to cough out such a large a sum of money, and that, too, at one go. The authorities began to dither and have second thoughts about the project. The architect's drawings become redundant and were never used —though he had to be paid Rs. 40,000 by way of prefessional fees.

Towards the end of 1981, came another Deputy Commissioner who was also a sports lover. As soon as he learnt of this on-the-shelf project, he took it up as a sort of emotional crusade and lent his full support to it.

A District Sport Committee[7] was set up under the aegies of the District Sports Council (existing in the town since 1975) with the Deputy Commissioner as its Chairman and got registered. It took over from the Administrator, of municipality, as a 'grantee' for the swimming pool and an all-out effort was launched to collect funds. The Department of Sports, Government of Haryana, put teeth into the project by announcing a contribution of Rs. 3,21,00. The Deputy Commissioner was so energetic and successful in his lobbying efforts that he was able to sign up several panchayat samitis, panchyats, in the district and other organizations, like the Small Savings Agency, the Nehru Stadium Committee, to make liberal contributions. The largest contribution, however, came from the local municipality (about Rs. 5,00,000). The Sport Committee also printed up a glossy Souvenir and took out in it a large number of ads from businessmen in the district against payment which were more in the form of donations.

Construction of the pool began in June 1982, and job was entrusted to the Building & Roads Division of State PWD. It took about a year to complete it. The total costs for the 25x16 meter pool came to Rs. 15½ lakhs.

The pool was thrown open for use by members of the public on July 1, 1983. Each prospective user was required to fill out an application form which asked for information, such as:

(a) Status of the application (a student/trader/civil Servant, etc.)
(b) Father's name, and
(c) Monthly income.

[7]Membership of the Committee comprised: the District Sports Officer (Secretary), the SDM (Civil) in town—: the District Education officer; the Chief Medical Officer; the General Asstt. to the Deputy Commissioner; the Addl. G.A. to the Deputy Commissioner; the District Public Relations Officer; The District Town Planner; The District Food and Civil Supplies Officer; the District Excise and Taxation Officer; the Distt. Industries Officer; a representative of the District Olympic Association; and 2 representatives of educational institutions (by rotation).

Listed on the reverse side of the Form were 20 Rules some of which seemed to be somewhat tailored to fit only the well-to-do groups. For example, Rule No. 4 reads:

Everybody should wear swimming/trunk/costume during swimming.

The cost of such a costume (gents) in the market ranged from Rs. 15 to Rs. 50.

The Rules also included the rider that only those who have been duly certified by the Chief Medical Officer of the local government hospital as free from all skin diseases would be eligible for membership.

The membership fee was fixed at Rs. 30 per head per month. For the gazetted and the non-gazetted officials (including their family members) of the Government, there were concessional rates: Rs. 15 for the former, and Rs. 10 for the later.

There are about 400 members (adults and children) as of today. The largest block (350) comes from young students studying in the local convent/English medium public schools; there is none belonging to the weaker sections in the town. However, five boys from a nearby village, have been granted exemption from payment of membership fee 'as a special case'. Explaining the exemption, the District Sports Officer said: "Their tone and dress suggested that they were from the weaker sections. We are not so sure, however. They shall not pay the membership fee but they shall have to buy their own swimming costumes".

Karnal is one of the towns in the country which is currently covered under several Centrally-sponsored schemes, such as "Integrated Child Development Programme", "Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns", and of course, the much-publicized "20 Point Programme".

In an address at Bangalore on July 15, 1983, the late Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, reminded

the nation:

> If we have to serve the people, we have to serve those who are weak".[8]

Incidentally, the leading contributor to the project, namely, [the Karnal Municipal Committee, owes a debt of over Rs. 70 lakhs to the LIC, etc., for a loan it took in the early fifties to provide for the water supply and the sewerage systems to the town. The debt continues to accummulate over the years.

There are ten slums in and around the town. Though it is the legal responsibility of the municipality to stamp out slum conditions from the town, but what to speak of a broad-based effort in this direction, it has not launched even a serious piece-meal attack on the problem so far. Thousands of people have been living in some parts of the two largest of these slums—Ram Nagar and Prem Nagar—in shockingly sub-human conditions for the past thirty years or so.

The town of Karnal can be said to consist broadly of two parts, so cut—as the chanced have it—by the Ambala-Delhi railway line: one, which is the abode of the upper and middle/lower middle classes, and the other which is populated by the working class (see the exhibit page 152). Nearly all vital centres of recreation, culture and shopping are located in the 'richer' part. So is the Swimming Pool. Indeed, the latest addition to this "power point" in the town is a Skating Rink, standing adjacent to the Pool. It has been built at a cost of Rs. 12 lakhs, with the municipality again as one of the contributors. Its membership fee: Rs. 20 per head per month.

When a town's 20 per cent population (appoxt.) is without a legal site for housing, with the, say, basic services (common drinkingwater taps, paved streets, a properly laid drainage system, street lighting, etc.) missing, how near or

[8]*The Statesman*, New Delhi, July 16, 1983.

EXHIBIT

THE TOWN

(A ROUGH SKETCH SHOWING ITS TWO PARTS, LIVED
IN BY TWO DIFFERENT SOCIAL CLASSES)
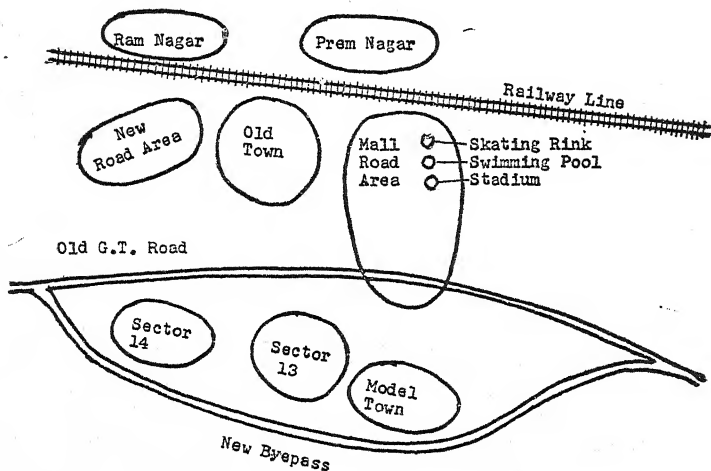
far it stands from the ideals of 'integrated development' is
a conclusion that can best be left to the imagination or
reasoning of the reader.

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY: INTEGRATION OR DISHARMONY[9]

Before ranking the administrative machinery on this basis,
the Government of Haryana must be applauded for the
'structural' integration it has achieved in placing the princi-
pal systems (or subsystems) into a single 'system' and for
the logical coherence in these parts/elements from the view
of mechanism or logic of operations.

The organization chart given on page 86 has already
contributed to our standing of this structural integration.

[9]By this is meant how well or poorly the machinery is organized to
produce the *results* it is supposed to.

For example, despite the horizontal differentiation of the organizational activities (acquisition of land, planning, and development) of three subsystems, there is vertical unity of the hierarchical managerial structure. This overall integration of the structure has been accomplished as follows:

1. The same Minister (at present, it is the Chief Minister himself) has been given the overall authority over the three organizations: Department of Urban Estates, Department of Town and Country Planning, and the Haryana Urban Development Authority (HUDA).

2. The three organizations are also held together through the linking-pin of the generalist-administrator who not only holds the position of Commissioner-cum-Secretary in the two Departments of Urban Estates and Town and Country Planning but is also a member of the HUDA Authority, the top policy making organ of this body.

3. This connectedness has been further ensured at yet another crucial level which serves as a junction of the channels of communications from all the three organizations as well as is supposed to play the important role of decision-making and problem-solving for most of the routine and non-routine problems happening below. This is the 4-into-1 position, held by another generalist administrator who—as already stated—is: Joint Secretary to and Director of the Department of Town and Country Planning; Chief Administrator, HUDA; and, Director, Urban Estates.

While these details refer to only the properties of integration at the "top management level", a formal method to attain integration at the "middle-level" has also been devised in the form of:

4. Quarterly meetings of the Land Acquisition Officers from the Department of Urban Estate, Estates, District/Regional Town Planners from the Department of Town and Country Planning, and Superintending Engineers from HUDA.

A chief attribute of this design is that the "core management group" at the Headquarters can obtain all such information easily as they need to execute their responsibilities of planning, organizing, and controlling operations in the three organizations.

This comfort is, however, illusory because the unity that is reflected at the 'summit' does not appear to be reflected at the 'base' or field operations. To put it differently, I found no evidence of a 'corporate' membership of the same 'corporate' body—which was perhaps the prime justification for this form of a conglomerate organization at the top. The people working in the three agencies have loyalty to their own organizations. This 'loyalty' needs to be enlarged into a 'greater loyaltp' to the overall goals of urban planning and development in the State, as a whole. At present, what they have achieved is only structural polarisation, and not 'emotional' polarisation.

A partial explanation for this ineffectiveness at the base is that the headquarter's managers—though in close touch with each other—are not always in close and constant touch with the 'field' (exceptions apart). The significance of the "total system" operating in unison does not seem to have perlocated to the firing lines at the bottom. No attempt for building in continuous feedback appears to have been made whereby information (top to bottom and bottom to top) regarding how the system is operating or what are the new changes taking place can be disseminated to all concerned.

This seems to be the situation at least with regard to the "information about the IDSMT Scheme at the town level".

My first contact when I made my first visit to Karnal for this study was with the Deputy Commissioner there. To my great surprise, I found he had not heard about the scheme.

Though I was startled to hear that but I must say he was refreshingly honest. By stating this I do not mean to question his knowledge (he displayed a vast amount of that), his dynamism, or intellect, but what I question is the 'communication gap' that had come to be caused in regard to the existence and operation of a national scheme between the

'headquarters', on the one hand, and the 'town' on the other. The Deputy Commissioner also clarified that he had landed in the town only a couple of months back and was still in the process of picking things up and there might be quite a few previous schemes/programmes going on there he did not yet know about.

Clearly, things had gone amiss in the communication-system.[10] Considering the national significance of the Scheme, perhaps it was appropriate that, at the time of the commencement of the Scheme a joint meeting of all concerned should have been held and an effort made to explain what was the rationale behind the Scheme, its national importance, etc., so that all could understand its philosophy in word and deed and later work for its success.

But, I was in for another surprise—for my first interview with the Administrator of the Karnal Municipal Committee also elicited the same answer, *i.e.*, ignorance about the Scheme.

Two other key officials who had also not heard about the Scheme were: (1) the Superintending Engineer (HUDA) who was in fact in charge of its execution, and (2) the estate Officer (HUDA).

None in the 'local' administrative machinery seemed to have heard or read the 'guidelines' either, issued by the Government of India as a sort of strategy of intervening into the existing organizational framework in the State Government and helping to improve upon things and relate them to the needs of IDSMT Scheme (perhaps, the Government of India should have allowed at least a month or so for the State Government to make the intended changes in their structure, and behaviour-patterns before releasing the first instalment of the sanctioned amount).

Factors which generally force governmental systems into 'stay where you are' attitudes, *i.e.*, no occasional appraisal of the structure, rule/procedures, all authority at the top etc.,—

[10]The concept of 'communication' has acquired today an added dimension—the dimension of 'depth'. It does not merely mean sending letters, policy statements, directives and so on. It means giving and receiving of *all information* (up and down) for intelligent action and decisions.

appears to be operating in this organizational set-up here as well. For instance, I did not find much evidence of seniors trying to propel their organizations into occasional self-appraisals, seeking new designs, or new leadership styles.

A case in point is the job of the District Town Planner which appears to be too big for a single hand. Burdened with 'technical' and 'enforcement' work—perhaps more tightly chained to the latter (see pages 110-13), the present division of work amongst (*a*) the Senior Town Planner, (*b*) the District Town Planner, and (*c*) the two Assistant Town Planners, needs an alteration.

Let the entire 'territory' under the charge of a District Town Planner be split up—as is usually done in the case of a Station House Officer in police organizations—into three distrinct little territories, each under the charge of the DTP and his two Assistant Town Planners—each responsible for his own work (including enforcement with requisite powers—the DTP, of course, playing the overall role of integrating these diverse parts at the district level.

The Senior Town Planner, at present, is only an 'additional supervisor' in the 'technical' chain of command. He needs to be turned instead into an 'additional doer' in other organizational matters, too, so that the 'hierarchy of authority' between him and the District Town Planners can be transformed into a 'hierarchy of problem-solving' (for all matters concerning enforcement, at present, the DTP has to deal with the Director, Town and Country Planning, at the Headquarters). Why not more delegation of powers from the Director to STP/DTP level?

Once this is done, there shall be shorter lines of communication, swifter response to problems on the periphery, and a greater sense of participation and collective responsibility—a short-cut to a motivated workforce.

Delegation of certain powers from the Director at the Headquarters to the field officers is essential from yet another angle. By virtue of the four heavy responsibilities that he carries, he is sure to be a busybody and anybody in such a situation would virtually find it impossible to spare the time to acquaint himself with all that goes on down the line to provide timely attention or guidance (but before 'delegation'

is done, let the DTPs be selected carefully).

'Research', too, is a weak point in the district unit. Mere collection of elementary data without reference to the power-structure of the community involved was not research in the true sense of the term. For instance, the survey it carried out for the proposed transport nagar provided material only for grouping of services, e.g., repair shops, number of transporters etc.[11]

The Unit, headed by a District Town Planner, is the pivot of the entire State Department of Town and Country Planning. It is necessary, therefore, that the division of work, location of decision-making powers, and distribution of physical resources—are all restructured around it. For, in ultimate analysis, it is the skill and efficiency of this Unit that the Department is finally dependent upon. Hence, it should be the fundamental purpose of the higher levels of management to equip the district units with adequate resources in all respects so as to enable them to function with optimum efficiency.

It should be equally instructive to take now a brief look at HUDA, the agency in which the Government of Haryana has located not only the 'developmental' or 'implementation' role for the entire State but also for the IDSMT Scheme.

If I were to pinpoint one single factor that appears to be tearing down—more than other factors—the morale of the managerial segment of the Engineering Wing and frustrating their behaviour, it is: 'speed' of decision-making at the Headquarters (Chief Administrator, HUDA, and above).

As already stated elsewhere in the report, decision-making is agonizingly slow in HUDA. Almost 99.9 percent of projects handled by the Engineering Wing are essentially such as require heavy and continuing investments (cost of development of a sector measuring 100 acres is about 3 crores of rupees); all estimates prepared at the 'Circle' level therefore must go to the Chief Administrator/Finance Committee for administrative approval. Since these approvals take as long

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[11]According to Ruth Glass, there are three functions that a survey in the field of planning can filfil: Technical, Political, and Theoretical See Ruth Glass, *The Social Background of a Plan: A Study of Middlesborough*, Routledge, Kegan and Paul, London, 1948, pp 188-193.

as 6 months to 2 years, the costs to the organization of these inordinate delays are immense both in terms of the 'material' resources (prices of cement, steel, bitumen keep shooting up) as well as 'human' resources (idleness, anxieties and tensions about revising the estimates, job-dissatisfaction etc).

A management analyst has said that an important way of judging the effectiveness of an organization is by examining how it tries to achieve the speed of decisions made within it. If we are to apply that yardstick to HUDA, it is obvious that the interests of economy of expenditure and motivation of staff do not appear to be well served here.

Speed of decision is to a large extent dependent also on the sense of purpose—a sense of feeling that it has got to Achieve some *definite objective* within some *definite deadline*. I such a sense of purpose missing from the organization?

One of the employees tried to explain this 'organizational climate' in terms of: (a) rather frequent change of chief administrators causing disruptions in the flow of work at this level: and (b) pussy-footing round decision-making at that level in the recent past, fearing 'if there is bungling somewhere involving lakhs of rupees, I, too, would be trapped'. In the context of an organization like HUDA, it needs to be stated that managers in this position should be truly 'management-minded'. Those who can't take a decision within a reasonable period of time or whose emotional or mental health is adversely affected by the pressures exerted by decision involving lakhs of rupees, they would be better off handling other jobs elswhere.

In an organization in which smooth-running of operations perpetually depends on *quick decision-making and monitoring*, it is important that the higher-ups are prepared to take major decisions and take them boldly and wisely.[12] After all if 'cost controls' (cost of materials, etc.) cannot be controlled, surely 'time controls'—purely an internal factor—can be ensured, resulting in savings of lakhs of rupees to the orga-

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[12]I understand that the new Chief Administrator who took over only recently is very anxior   ) improve HUDA's performance and is reported to be busy scrambling from one field unit to another to understand problems and untangle them, to remove bottlenecks and to counter the effects of obstacles—internal and external.

nization every year.

The ability of a body like HUDA to perform well is also directly linked to the seriousness with which it attempts to rescue the 'Monitoring Division' from the routine administrative work it has been burdened with and restore to it its original tasks. Without a continuous surveillance of what goes out in the field and an objective analysis of the data collected, it would be impossible to establish relationship between 'planned expenditure' and 'actual expenditure' and to fix responsibility on the lagging individual and/or units.

HUDA appears to suffer from yet another organizational stress: Too much centralisation in certain matters. Consider, for example, the case of the Chief Engineer who is charged with the responsibility of producing high-speed execution of urban development projects at minimum possible cost, and is supposed to achieve that object by marshalling the energies of over 1,000 personnel scattered all over the State, but his powers of staff control are nearly fettered: To quote him, he can't even 'transfer a clerk, much less appoint him'.[13] In contrast to that—I was informed—even a junior officer in State PWD (the parent organization of the Chief Engineer) namely, the Superintending Engineer, has the powers to suspend both the Class III and IV employees.

The organization has no clear-cut policy of training, promotion or human resource management. A typical supervisor does not think of his workplace as a 'human resource', nor does he think of himself as a 'manager of human resource'. To all intents and purposes, as an employee put it, it is "functioning like a government department".

An urban development authority like HUDA started from a scratch and when it was set up in 1977 it was expected to combine 'public control' with the 'flexibility of private sector'. Indeed, as a new organization it had all the advantages to develop its own design, rules/regulations and proce-

[13]It may be noted that the Chief Engineer, the Head of HUDA's Implementation Unit (Engineering Wing) is not a member of HUDA's top policy-making organ, called the 'Authority'.

This appears to be quite an oddity if the present arrangement is looked at from the *Behavioural* approach to designing effective organizations.

dures. It appears however that it has lost some of those opportunities,

A review of studies done in the West of the top management responsibilities has shown most frequent emphasis being laid upon the following (in approximate order):[14]

1. Balancing resources, time, goals, skills, etc.
2. Integrating
3. Setting priorities
4. Setting and developing standards
5. Conceptualising
6. Leading
7. Matching oneself to one's job, and
8. Delegating: risking oneself.

If HUDA is to pull itself out of its present operational constraints, it must expose its senior-level supervisors/managers to some of these purposeful new management ideas. The pendulum must swing a little toward what is called the 'managerial' approach, *i.e.*, concentrate on functions like, planning, organizing, motivating, and controlling which can be illustrated as follows:

FIG. PROCESS OF MANAGEMENT
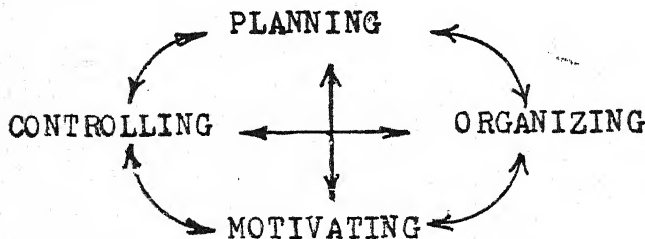
Though all the four functions are inter-related, at any one

14Bernard Taylor and Keith MacMillan, *Top Management*, Longman, London, 1973, p. 84.

time, one or more may be of primary importance for manage
ment.[15]

But, if one were to put one's finger on a serious problem
that is of increasing concern in the context of a Scheme like
the IDSMT (in particular, to those responsible for its plan-
ning and implementation), it is the *lack* of awareness and
total commitment on the part of the concerned officials.
Because such a scheme is a national programme, connected
with the problems of millions of slum-dwellers in big cities
and other related issues, all those involved in its execution
should possess and exhibit a critical consciousness about its
significance and importance. All through my interviews with
the officials, I tried to find out as to what was on their minds
when they were planning a 'transport nagar' as an IDSMT
activity, in their town, most saw it yet another physical
project. It is apparent that such thinking reduces a national
scheme to a mere building project. And, on top of it, when
it is pursued in a perfunctory manner, it is tantamount to
treating an ambitious programme as an ad hoc improvization
exercise.

Clearly, there is need for correcting the perception of
officials connected with such programmes and in creating in
their minds a clear and positive sense of awareness about
what lies at the root of such schemes and how their effe-
ctive implementation would help achieve significant national
goals. In other words, training of these personnel on the
right lines should have been given high priority because it is
this 'trained' manpower that will, in ultimate analysis, cons-
titute the backbone of such national programmes in the
future. In fact, the best course for the Central Government
would be to make such training a pre-condition before a
State got the Centre's money. Such training should also
begin fairly early if the programme is to have appropriate
leadership and the officials are to acquire the right attitudes
and motivation for all stages of these programmes.

Turning our attention away from the organizational prob-
lems of these two organizations for a moment, if we position

[15]Blanchard, Kenneth H., and Hersey, Paul, *Management of Organi-
zational Behaviour: Utilizing Human Resources*, Prentice-Hall of India (P)

ourselves in a 'medium-sized' town like Karnal and look at urban development problems in and around it from its 'angle', we are face to face with a different perspective: multiplicity of organizations—State and local level (see page 77) locked up in jurisdictional conflicts and confusions (think of two independent water-supply systems in Karnal, page 67) and 'spoiling the broth' like 'too many' proverbial 'cooks'. Two courses pop up as a way-out:

1. The "Radical" course, and
2. The "Adaptive" course.

If it is conceded that the existing urban administrative structure in growing medium-sized towns like Karnal does not possess the capacity to cope with the urban problems and an emergency already exists (see in this connection a copy of the Chief Minister's letter dated May 17, 1983 addressed to all the Deputy Commissioners in the State— Appendix II), then perhaps only a 'radical' step (a major operation) will alone do the job: that is, introduce the legislation to establish single urban area authorities for all towns exceeding 1 lakh of population in place of the monolithic State level authority like HUDA which might one day get bogged down by its own weight or the sheer magnitude and complexity of its operations it would find itself involved in the years to come. According to Drucker,

> 'A large organization cannot be versatile. A large organization is effective through its man rather than through its agility. Fleas can jump many times their own height, but not elephants.'[16]

However, if for one reason or the other, HUDA is regarded sacrosanct for the time being, there must be set-up, as an 'adoptive' change to the existing set-up at each district-level, a powerful, alert, and assertive, "Urban Development Coordination Committee", headed by the Deputy Commissioner, with the District Town Planner as the Convenor (incidentally, the dynamic Deputy Commissioner of Karnal

[16]Drucker, P.F., *The Age of Discontinuity*, Heinemann, London, 1969, p. 179.

has already blazed the path, but how 'assertive' the Committee remains after he is gone to another posting shall have to be seen).

Since we are concerned here with the 'whole', called urban planning and development in and around a town, another significant subsystem or part of this whole, too, should be mentioned here, namely, "public understanding" of this important activity. At present, this 'understanding' is non-existent (in fact, even most of the generalist-administrators who come to head the local Municipal Committee or the District itself have either little knowledge about the scope and nature of urban planning or have no interest in it). It is in the interest of the town as a whole, that both the parties—the concerned bureaucracy and the people at large—are kept informed of the relationship between this State activity and its impact on the daily living of the people: the former through training/seminars: under the aegis of the Deputy Commissioner, and the latter through exhibitions.

EPILOGUE

Karnal as a district is said to have created history in the field of agricultural production, mechanized farming, fertilizer consumption, animal husbandry, dairy research, higher per acre yield and so on. It has been aptly called as "pigmy in size but giant in its strides".

The "town of Karnal" is a functioning component of the larger district (a rich-hinterland) and, therefore, naturally shares some of the bounce and the verve of the 'whole'. It can still struggle and sprawl (for housing purposes) over a mile or so in a couple of directions. It has also the potential of development into a fine centre of trade, commerce, industry, and administration. Hence it can grow into a meaningful urban 'region' and very well live up to the two basic purposes of the IDSMT:

1. act as a service-centre for the small towns/villages around it; and,

2. help check the flow of migrants to metropolitan

But, so far as the IDSMT Scheme and its application to town is concerned, two impressions clearly stand out:

First: Telescoping through the much-inclusive superior national strategy of "20-Point Programme", the IDSMT at Karnal appears to be largely a form of welfare for the well-to-do; and,

Second: Seen through the eyes of the administrative machinery, it is more of an 'expenditure' mechanism than an 'integrated development' one—for the Scheme appears to be looked at in a vacuum and not in relation to the national perspective or strategy.

As for the "administrative machinery", the analysis in this Chapter and the preceding one (No. VI) makes it crystal clear that it needs certain amount of organizational surgery, both in its 'structural' and 'human side' components.

8 KARNAL MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE: A MONOGRAPH*

SECTION I: AN OVERVIEW

The Karnal Municipal Committee is a 19th century trans-plant (1886) by the British and is probably one of the oldest in this part of the country. Its offices operate from an old building which bears a rather non-de-script look. Essentially, it is an ancient structure, reminiscent of a 'dharamsala' with a high, massive entry-gate, and a fairly good number of office-rooms located along the inside of the boundary wall. The interior has a U-shaped open compound which lends it a touch of spaciousness. The only renovation that meets the eyes is a set of three rooms, added in 1981, one of which is occupied by the Administrator and has a porch outside it (incidentally, this porch is reported to have been respon-sible for the suspension of the then municipal engineer under whose slipshod supervision the porch was constructed and then collapsed within 2-3 days of its erection). Several rooms behind this set of three new rooms have a decadent appear-ance and look considerably dark and shattered from within. If a person is visiting the municipal offices during the rainy season (as I happened to), one cannot fail to notice the mini water-lakes that get formed around three sides of the municipal offices area. I was informed by a shopkeeper just outside the municipal building that even a light shower lasting

*No offence is meant to any official of the municipality or the local body, as a whole, by the details told with some specifity at some places in this desription. The intention is to present a general idea of the physical conditions or to give an indication of the over-moving human relations/emotions that always underlie an otherwise seemingly smooth-running formal organization. I spoke to a good number of people there and listened carefully to their comments, opinions and attitudes—some-times contradictory. What appears here may be considered, therefore, an 'outstanding' impression of all those statements made during the interviews.

barely a few hours is enough to put the municipal drainage system right at its door-steps out of gear.

Status wise it is a Class I municipality (there are two types of municipal committees in the State of Haryana: Class I and II). It gained its present status only in 1949. The municipality is under the general administrative control of the Directorate of Local Bodies, Government of Haryana.

It is worth noting that though the affairs of the municipality are supposed to be administered by an elected council of 20 councillors, each representing every 5,000 people in the town, but the elected body stands superseded since the year 1972. The powers of the dissolved council are now vested in an Administrator who is a member of the Haryana Civil Service (HCS) and is the top official of the Municipal Committee.

During the past 11 years of its supersession, the municipality has been 'presided' over by as many as 10 Administrators, the average time spent by each one of them being a little over a year. When this piece of research began in mid-June 1983, the municipality was under the charge of its 10th Administrator who had joined in January 1983. As if to show unmistakably that the pace of their 'frequent transfers' had not slowed down but continued unabated, the tenth Administrator, too, was gone in September (after a stay of barely nine months) and the eleventh one had taken over. The table below will speak for itself.

	Name	*Period*		
1.	....	20-7-1973	to	15-6-1974
2.	....	8-7-1974	to	21-10-1976
3.	....	21-10-1976	to	30-9-1977
4.	....	30-9-1977	to	12-12-1977
5.	....	12-12-1977	to	27-1-1980
6.	....	28-1-1980	to	22-4-1981
7.	....	4-5-1981	to	15-9-1981
8.	....	17-9-1981	to	6-1-1983
9.	....	7-1-1983	to	18-8-1983
10.	....	19-8-1983	to	4-9-1983

Of course, sometimes, early transfer of an Administrator

is necessary when he is found to lack the reputation of honesty, integrity and good judgment in the community (within the municipality or outside it).

The post so far is said to have been held by officials whose work-attitudes have varied between 'total' and 'partial' subservience to the State politicians. The ever-shifting sands of political considerations and pressures are generally known to determine the place of postings of a large number of officials every now and then. Quite often, therefore—I was told—the senior and other middle and junior level officials of the municipality can be found expending their drives and energies on either securing the 'right' transfers from one local body to another; or preventing them if already secured; at times, of course, these are also directed to 'engineering' the transfers of each other, if, for one reason or another, personality clashes have given rise to overt in-fighting or open hostility.

It is not surprising, therefore, that because of these frequent changes at the top and middle levels, coupled with internal dissensions, there is not only an inconsistency in policies and day-to-day administrative decisions (disapproval of unauthorized encroachment by shopkeepers in a particular street by one Administrator, followed by approval by his successor) but also an atmosphere of lack of commitment to organizational goals which, it must be admitted, is the necessary pre-condition for turning a municipal body into an effective organization.

'Scientific management' is almost unheard of here, and hence the 'professional spirit' has not made its appearance either. By and large, the municipality continues to cling to an archaic structure and methods of operation. For instance, the Municipal Accounts Code which was introduced way back in 1935 still continues to be in force, albiet with some modifications. It sticks with equal tanacity to the traditional 'item-budget' and is in no mood to switch to 'performance budgeting'. It does not even bring out an annual report. Years back there was the yearly practice of filling out a proforma (sent by the Deputy Commissioner's office aimed at carrying out a kind of inspection of the work done by the municipality) but how even that has stopped. The bylaws

which regulated the internal affairs of the municipality during the past 40 years were revised only last year. The old fashioned budget-proforma used for submission of the annual budget to the higher authorities is the same as was used when it was a 'colonial' municipality in British days and has still printed in it items, such as, 'police' and 'education' which have for long ceased to exist as municipal functions.

Lest, an impression is created on the mind of the reader that it is all bad here and nothing good about the municipality, it is necessary to note quite a few 'exceptions' that will strike anyone from Delhi visiting the town by bus for the first time. One of these is the nearly dust-free broad street (and the area beyond, right up to the old town), that runs in front of the main Bus Station—a total contrast to the dust-laden atmosphere which engulfs the Haryana towns one passes through on the way to Karnal. It is understood that the municipality had a major role to play in the new street-plan, the Bus-station, the large beautiful park nearby, the new business quarters in front, that were re-laid in place of what was, earlier a site of decrepit structures standing in the midst of unpaved and dustful bylanes. Another achievement that could be ascribed to the municipality is the reasonably good standard of cleanliness maintained by it around this main street leading to the Bus-station. It also deserves a pat for giving to the residents of the 'old' town a beautiful park which is not only the pride of the place but also a park different from the normal parks: for, it is sited in a deep natural hollow ground, now filled with fountains, flower-edged walks, an aquarium, and a library.

Apart from the Administrator, another 'key' official (though not a part of the municipality) who is not only legally responsible for watching and guiding the operations of the municipality but is also an important link between this body and the Local Self-Government Department at the Headquarters, is: the Deputy Commissioner of the Karnal District. Yet, an unfortunate fact—but a fact nevertheless—is that a large number of the IAS officials who have filled in this position during the past two decades or so have been losing their postings at Karnal and getting transfer orders

with the same frequency as has been the case with the HCS officials who have served as Administrators of the municipality all these years.

Hanging in the office-room of the Deputy Commissioner at Karnal is a roster bearing the names of the deputy commissioners and the periods of their stay at Karnal. If one goes by the figures mentioned thereon (see below) for some years, it would appear that, on an average, not even a year's stay has been the norm in the case of some of the deputy commissioners:

	Name	*Period*		
1.	....	16-5-1962	to	18-5-1963
2.	....	19-5-1963	to	11-8-1964
3.	....	12-8-1964	to	6-9-1966
4.	....	11-9-1966	to	4-10-1967
5.	....	5-10-1967	to	5-7-1968
6.	....	3-7-1979	to	6-4-1980
7.	....	13-4-1980	to	7-6-1980
8.	....	10-6-1980	to	29-12-1980
9.	....	29-12-1980	to	22-4-1981

It need hardly be emphasised that the effectiveness of urban planning and development in a town depends to a considerable degree upon: (*a*) the personal interest the Deputy Commissioner shows in this field, (*b*) the working relationship he is able to develop with the Town Planner during the short period of his stay there, and (*c*) the time he is in position (or willing to) to give to carry out the important coordinating responsibility so that the operational plans of all the governmental agencies involved in urban planning would fit properly into the total picture. But, so long the deputy commissioners come and go away as it has been happening in the past, the aims and objectives of urban planning in any town—let alone Karnal—would not be realized.

Besides, there is also the important factor of the academic background and subsequent experience of an IAS Deputy Commissioner. Not many, it seems, are inclined to fully appreciate the significance of urban planning as a profession. Some even tend to confuse it with 'architecture 'rather

than view it as a 'continuous function, comprehensive in scope, aimed at the unified development of the community, taking into account all the physical, social, economic and fiscal elements collateral thereto'.

From the stand point of persons employed (450 out of total number 721), the Health Department is the most important single units of the municipality. It is also somewhat complex and widespread in operations. Yet, interestingly, for as long as *19 years*—until May 1982—the Department was headed by a medical officer who was merely a L.S.M.F. (whatever that means) and not by a MBBS with a diploma in public health, as required under the municipal bye-laws.

Area

Roughly 21.5 sq. kms. made up the area administered by the municipality until 1975. However, during that year, its boundaries were re-drawn, bringing the revised total area under its charge to 23.5 sq. kms. As was expected, the change in boundaries in 1975 not only affected the local body's population but also its functions and problems.

The population within the municipal boundaries is pretty unevenly distributed, dense in certain areas (such as, the old town) but scattered in other (such as, the new residential areas). About 65 per cent of the working force in the town lives in the town itself and 35 per cent is estimated to commute to the town for work every day from adjoining villages/ towns at a distance of up to 15 kms. on bicycle or bus (The 'day-light' citizens).

Major Functions

The municipal operations embrace the following major functions: Street lighting, Water supply, Public health (includes: sanitation, birth/death statistics, inspection of food-handling establishments, running of three dispensaries etc.) Sewerage, Maintence of parks and libraries/Reading rooms, and Fire-fighting.

Structure

The organization of the Municipal Committee is set out in

the figure below:
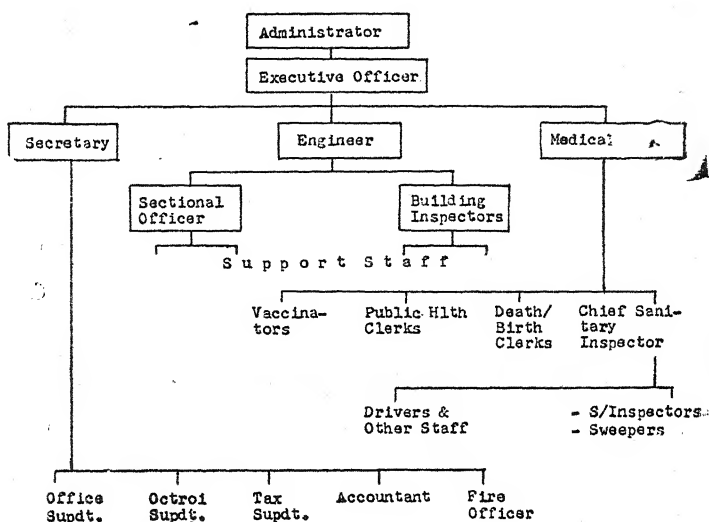
Decision-Making

What is the 'formal' decision-making process in the municipality or who has the formal decision-making power today in the absence of an elected council? In performing the various decision-making functions, the state government today is acting through its officials, like the Deputy Commissioner of Karnal District and the Municipal Administrator, and his deputies like the Chief Officer, the Secretary, the Medical Officer and the Engineer. But, it is not always the 'formal' but the 'informal' decision-making mechanism that really indicates as to how decision-making is really accomplished, in any organization. As for this municipality, this is evident from the under-mentioned two small case-problems, each indicative of the typical styles of decision-making characterising the system—the first one concerning the 'Health Department' within the Municipality and the other with the 'Engineering-cum-Planning' Department.

Given below are the age-old 'steps' that normally constitute the decision-making process as and when a problem in

the Health Department crops up and demands solution:

Step I

The process is supposed to begin with the preparation of a Note by a lower division Clerk. The Note is a combination of both the 'perception of the problem' (his own or the one tutored by one of the superiors) and the 'way out', say, calling tenders from the 'interested contractors' in the town if the problem cannot be handled internally; ('interested contractor' in the town can mean only those known or friendly to the concerned municipality staff or even 'collusive bidding' by a single party on different letterheads with the full knowledge of the staff member/s).

Step II

The Note is submitted to the Chief Sanitary Inspector and after his approval is submitted to the Head of the Department, *i.e.*, the Healtth Officer;
(If the nature of the problem has some engineering component, the procedure demands consultation of the Municipal Engineer);

Step III

Following Health Officer's aproval, the Note then moves through the Municipal Secretary, the Executive Officer, and, finally, goes up to the Administrator of the municipality;
(Given the prevailing culture in the municipality, the inclination of every superior is to 'play safe', approve of what has been suggested by the official below/above so that if things go wrong later, one can alway pass the buck. This streak had become particularly stronger—I was informed—after the widely-publicized proceedings of the Shah Commission's pointed enquiries into the decision-making processes at work in the government bureaucracies, in general, and his discovery of the tendency among officials to disown responsibility for

an act/decision by passing the blame to those 'below' or 'above').

Step IV

After approval by the Administrator, tenders are invited and the order for implementation of job is placed with the contractor offering the lowest quotations;

Step V

The Municipal Engineer satisfies himself with the 'quality' of the work done by the contractor and the Internal Auditor with the 'financial aspects'. The payment is then released.

It should be logical to briefly extend at this point our discussion to identify the various 'steps' (p. 174) that are said to constitute what the modern management literature[1] considers as the 'systematic' decision-making process.
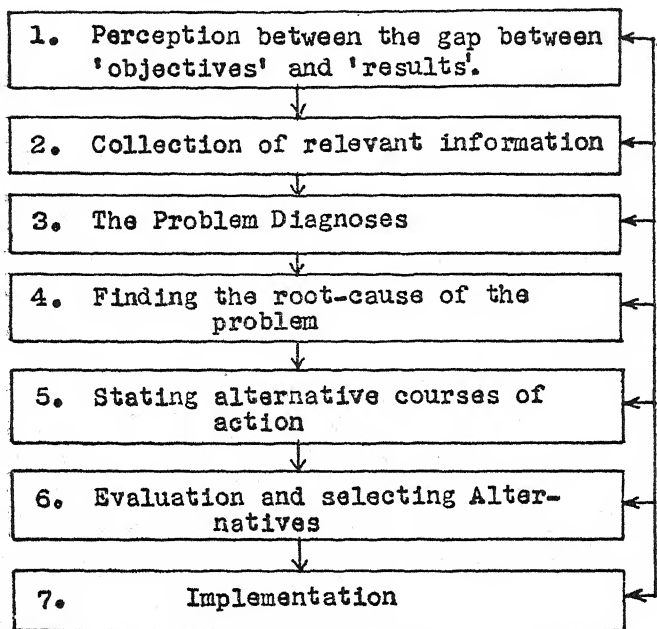
CASE PROBLEM 5

Repair of Six Trolleys Used for Collection of Garbage in the Town

If the task of clearing up garbage from the various points in the town had to proceed smoothly, it was considered imperative that all the six trolleys, used by the Health Department both for conveying scavenging staff and the garbage from one point in the town to another, and, finally, the entire filth to the dumping site outside, were kept in a fit condition. That 'something' had gone wrong with 'all' the trolleys became known to a part of the decision-making hierarchy when a Note suggesting repairs of the trolleys landed, by an accident, on the desk of a middle-level superior one morning. A reading of the Note suggested that let alone adhering to the 'systematic

STEPS IN SYSTEMATIC DECISION-MAKING

1.	Perception between the gap between 'objectives' and 'results'.
2.	Collection of relevant information
3.	The Problem Diagnoses
4.	Finding the root-cause of the problem
5.	Stating alternative courses of action
6.	Evaluation and selecting Alternatives
7.	Implementation

steps' repeatedly emphasized by the management literature the said Note had even bypassed the traditional 'steps' followed in the municipality. For example, its origin and movement went through the followings stages:

1. It was the Chief Sanitary Inspector himself who had prepared the Note and gone straight to the Administrator to obtain his approval (skipping three levels on the way: the Health Officer, the Secretary and the Executive Officer). The Note asked for permission to call tenders for the necessary repair of the six trolleys.

2. The Administrator accorded his approval in writing but also desired (orally) that the Chief

ted parties' and collect their quotations in person (something nothing unusual if one goes by the norm operating in the municipality as an official put it).

3. The quotations were duly collected by the Inspector and 'opened' by the Administrator in the former's presence. A comparative statement of the quotations was then prepared by the Inspector and the lowest bid was found to be of the order of Rs. 48,000 (@ Rs. 8,000 per trolley). The work-order was placed with the party that offered that quotation.

   (Whispers were heard in the municipality's corridors all through that day that the repair costs were so greatly in excess that the municipality could have as well acquired newly-fabricated trolleys for that amount, of course, excluding the price of tyres and other accessories).

4. On completion of the job, the file was moved again suggesting payment to the contractor. This time, however, it travelled through all the levels it would normally do in all circumstances. However, soonafter it reached the desk of one of the seniors below the Administrator, it was reported to be missing.

   A search was carried out but in vain.

It was suggested later that F.I.R. be lodged with the local police about the loss of the file (which was subsequently done) and that, after a physical verification of the job by the Municipal Engineer, payment to the concerned party be released.

CASE PROBLEM 6

And, yet another example of decision-making (though in a different area), given below, reveals to us how, at times, 'rules of thumb'—rather than the 'scientific method'—can be used to reach final decisions in a local

Transfer of a Building Inspector

There were three Building Inspectors in the Engineering-cum-Planning Department of the municipal committee and each one was responsible for detection of encroachments or illegal constructions in his respective area in the town, and then for initiating legal action against the violator. Though the number of such violations was known to be very large in the town, yet only a limited few had 'caught the attention' of these three Inspectors. It was common knowledge, both within the municipality and without, that if a violator of the planning laws so wished, he could always 'buy' his way out of these bureaucratic hurdles.

One of these Inspectors had been at the job for the past six years and had learnt the ropes very well. Those who knew him had always suspected his honesty and integrity. Many a time there had been complaints that he had been 'partial' to some party or the order and winked at the unauthorized construction raised by it, without obtaining the necessary permission from the municipal committee.

A house-owner in the old part of the town had, similarly, tried to build a first-floor balcony right above the narrow street below by providing half-a-dozen concrete pillars that stood in the street itself and interfered with the free flow of surface traffic. The municipal authorities learnt about it when the Building Inspector of that area prepared a case against the house-owner and put it up to his higher-ups for permission to proceed against the house-owner legally.

Pressures were soon brought to bear upon the senior officials by the house-owner to stop the legal action against him. It was, however, the Administrator of the municipality—from amongst the senior officials—who suddenly began to show special interest in the matter. Indeed, one day he called two of the senior officials below him to his office-room and ordered the transfer of the Building Inspector to another department within the municipality as, in his view, the latter was "unneces-

The two officials suggested to him that if at all the Building Inspector was to be transferred, it would perhaps be advisable to, first, make an on-the-spot study of the situation and gather the 'facts'. The Administrator agreed to the proposal, but only reluctantly. After the investigations were carried out, it was found that the facts as reported earlier by the Building Inspector were true. Disregarding the outcome of the fact-gathering exercise, the Administrator, however, still continued to insist that the Inspector be removed from the Engineering-cum-Planning Department and posted to another job in the Municipality.

<div align="center">SECTION II: KEY SUB-SYSTEMS</div>

What follows in this Section is an account of three key sub-systems of the municipal committee—'key' because these are the ones—few would deny—which can make a substantial contribution to better functioning of a municipal system. This description, when read along with that in the preceeding section, should provide the reader a steadily— growing appreciation of the capability or incapability of this local body to play the role of a partner in the "integrated development' of this town—now or in future.

The three sub-systems in question are:

1. Planning—Formal and Informal,
2. Personnel Management;[2] and,
3. Financial Standing.

Planning: The Formal Process

'Planning' as a function (both in the broader and narrower sense of the term) has never been a strong point of the Karnal Municipal Committee. If in the long 61 years of its existence during the British rule, 'planning' activity had been

[2]Includes also a bird's eye view of the Personnel System operating at the State level.

restricted to merely correction of bad situations, such as repair of roads, etc., in the 36 years of post-independence times it has entailed largely imposition of 'controls'—which too, is sporadic, thoroughly loose, and inadequate. It was only the 1978 Haryana Municipal Act" which conferred on it, for the first time, some positive powers to secure development of the town by authorizing it to prepare town planning schemes, on its own or "if so required by the Deputy Commissioner".

The major administrative steps or what is known as the 'action circuit', in the formal planning process (prescribed by section 203 of the 1973 Act), designating a town development scheme are as follows:

1. The Committee may, and if so required by the Deputy Commissioner shall, within six months of the date of such requisition, draw up a building scheme for built areas, and a town planning scheme for unbuilt areas;

2. The Committee gives public notice of such a scheme and awaits and receives within 30 days of the date of the notice objections/suggestions from members of the public;

3. The Committee shall consider every objection or suggestion and then submit the scheme as originally drawn up or as modified, to the Deputy Commissioner;

4. The Deputy Commissioner may, if he thinks fit, return it to the Committee for reconsideration and resubmission by a specified date;

5. The Deputy Commissioner shall submit the plans as forwarded (or as re-submitted) with his recommendations to the State Government who may sanction or refuse to sanctions it, or even return it to the Committee for reconsideration and resubmission by a specified date;

6. If the Committee fails to do so within six months of the date of return of the scheme by the State Government, the Deputy Commissioner may draw up a scheme, give public notice and invite objections/suggestions from the public within a specific date;

7. The Deputy Commissioner shall refer the scheme to

the State Government, together with his opinion on the objections/suggestions received;

8. The State Government may sanction such a scheme, as originally notified or modified and the cost of the scheme (or such portion of the cost as the State Government may deem fit) shall be defrayed from the municipal fund;

9. While sanctioning a scheme, the State Government may insist on submission of periodical reports on the progress of the scheme to the Deputy Commissioner/ State Government, and (*b*) inspection and supervision of the scheme by the State Government; and

10. After the Scheme has been sanctioned, the Committee shall proceed to provide internal services as soon as possible and complete it within a period of five years from the date of its sanction.

A careful reading of the concerned provisions in the Act would show that the two primary authorities which dominate the form and structure of planning by the municipality are: (1) the Deputy Commissioner at the local level, and (2) the Department of Local Self-Government at the State level, and any town planning scheme for areas built or unbuilt is subject to fairly extensive controls by the two.

Apart from the paper work involved[17] (which is of course essential), it is understood that a scheme once prepared has to travel through as many as 16 layers of the bureaucratic ladder (locally and at the State level) right up to the Secretary, Department of Local Self-Government, and by the time it climbs down (the return is by a shorter route), precious time (rarely less than 2-3 years) gets lost and the original cost of the proposed schemes considerably gone up.

[17]In operational terms, *the words the Municipality may . . . . . . draw up a building scheme for built areas, and a town planning scheme for unbuilt areas* mean the following procedural steps for the Karnal Municipality.

(1) identification of areas ripe for development on the periphery of the town, (2) conducting a survey through the Office of the District Town Planner, and (3) Preparation of Scheme.

The owner of private land can also apply to the municipality for a town planning scheme of his areas. The step Nos. 2 and 3 are followed again in this respect.

Of course, it can be argued that if the State Government bears the cost of scheme, it has a right to ensure that not only the money has been spent for the purpose it was given, but also certain standards of public service are attained and maintained. But, it stands to reason whether such an objective can be best achieved through statutory fiats and prohibitions or through administrative supervision. It is well recognized, however, by management expert that the latter has an element of flexibility about it which statutory provisions certainly lack.

Indeed, if one goes by the language used in the Act 'planning' in the municipal contexts rests primarily on the authority of the Deputy Commissioner, and the municipality appears to have been accorded only a secondary position. For instance, mark the use of the words 'may' and 'shall' and the connotations they appear to carry in Section 203:

> The Committee may, and if so required by the Deputy Commissioner, within six months of the date of such requisition, shall draw up a building scheme for built areas and a town planning scheme for unbuilt areas.

Another curidous feature of the provisions is that there is no mention of 'public participation' in the entire description. Perhaps in the eyes of the authors of the Act, public participation in planning at the municipal level could to a large extent by achieved through the elected representatives to the municipal council but, clearly they failed to anticipate that an indispensable element of State (or, of the 'national') politics in India which always looms large on the municipal councils like the proverbial Democles' sword is that these can just be brushed aside by a political party in power in the State if it finds the local council packed by the representatives of the opposition political party. In the process, therefore, the baby (public participation in planning) gets thrown out alongwith the bath water (the opponent political party in control of the local council). No self-government for Karnal during the past 11 years, hence no citizen's say in planning, and no public support to planning either.

Let alone the involvement of the elected representatives or

private citizens, even the involvement of an expert like the District Town Planner at the scheme-formulation stage (who is locally available) is not considered important by the 1973 Municipal Act. In contrast to this, however, the Improvement Trust Act 1922 (passed five decades earlier) made the District Town Planner a permanent member of the local Trust's Board and, thereby, gave him the authority (authority of knowledge' and 'professional competence' which other lay-members of the policy-making Board did not possess) to advise against or even prohibit—no matter however temporarily—the Trust from carrying out a particular scheme that, in his judgement, would not promote the 'integrated development' of the community. Thus, instead of being an advancement on the 1922 Act, the 1973 Act really smacks of a retrograde step and represents a 'backward tendency' rather than yet another 'improvement' over what was an advanced step in the past.

Last but not the least; it is also important to note that the 1973 Act speaks only in terms of small, fragmented development schemes, and not a total development plan.

The 'Informal' Process

Notwithstanding the several pages of regulations mentioning the 'powers' of the municipality with regard to the preparation of town planning scheme, on its own initiative or at the bidding of the Deputy Commissioner, the fact of the matter is that the Karnal Municipality is not planning-oriented at all.

Whatever few powers exist on paper, these too have been shorn away by the 'informal' planning process that appears to dominate here. The underlying principle of the informal process is that: urban planning is subordinate to the whims and fancies or the political aims of the party in power at the State level. So when schemes are prepared, they are not prepared in term of a comprehensive or well-balanced inprovement or development plan for, say, the coming year or the next five years. They do not necessarily get weighed in the light of 'community needs' or 'priorities' or town's 'ability to finance'—with which 'urban planning' as a science is concerned. Very often, they are prepared under pressures

and influences from political and administrative executives, and more often these pressures and influences are 'subjective'.

The end-result is that poor neighbourhoods may be bye-passed in getting their fair share of public improvements (in comparison with their wealthier counterparts (see Case Problms 4, pp. 147-52) or a scheme may be prepared and implemented in ignorance or regardless of its relationship to surrounding areas or regional planning, such as, widening of a road or laying out a new one in a particular area which may be in conflict with the 'overall' street—plan being worked out by the Department of Town and Country Planning for implementation 2-3 years later.

Once the planning process lends itself to the subjective pressures of these elements, the municipal officials passively acquiesce, for the most part, to the directives of these interest-groups, for they have neither the necessary staus nor the prestige to stand up to them. Interestingly. despite all protestations about non-availability of funds, finding money for the execution of such schemes poses no problem for the municipality. For, the money is just diverted from another 'head' in the budget in an arbitrary fashion.

Indeed, there have been occasions when, on the one hand, the State Government served the municipality with reminders that no funds should be used to make any improvements in authorized built-up areas, yet under the pressures of a Minister, an MLA, or such elements whose words are the most influential on ultimate decision-makers that the municipality has had no option but to support and provide for the necessary facilities in such areas, from time to time.

When it comes to the implementation of a sheme, the formal process does not always conform to procedures as stipulated in the municipal rule book. Here, too, it, at times, goes by its own subjective 'logic'. For example, the municipal engineer, in whom both the planning and implementation functions are vested, may not execute a scheme in its entirely, at one go. He is authorized, under the rules, to call tenders only for schemes costing not more than Rs. 50,000. Hence if an approval scheme is likely to cost Rs. 1 lakh the scheme may be split up in two parts of Rs. 50,000 each and

the tenders called only for the first part. After the contract has been awarded to a 'favourite private contractor (the municipal engineer is reported to generally weild considerable patronage in this regard) and the job has been completed, the tenders for the second part are called and its execution may be handed to the same private contractor.

Planning—The Internal Structure

In this municipality the department concerned with the 'engineering works' is also concerned with 'planning and development' in the town. The official who has the charge of both these responsibilities is the municipal engineer.

An example of how casual the municipality can be at times in seeking real professional staffing in the field of engineering can be had from the fact that the present.* Municipal Engineer is merely a matriculate with one year's diploma in draughtmanship. For a long time, he has served this municipality as a building inspector and was promoted to the present position in the year 1980 when the actual incumbent (a bachelor of Engineering degree-holder, of course) was suspended. All the major engineering works of the municipality have always been got done on contract basis and its long-standing contractor in this regard has been the B&R Division of the State PWD which has not only built the works for the municipality but has also been 'maintaining' them all these decades at a fat price to the municipality (Rs. 13 lakh per annum).

Considering the volume of work (both construction and maintenance) and the scale of economies involved in these long-term works, why the municipality has never bothered to weigh the respective advantages of two agencies: (1) contractor, or (2) internal staff—is something hard to judge.

Serving directly under the municipal engineer (see Chart, p. 184) are three junior officials: a sectional officer who looks after the 'works branch' (attending to minor jobs, such as, repair of roads, etc.), and two building inspectors who, among other things, receive/screen applications for planning permis-

*That is, October 1983.

sions, carry out detection/vigilance work in the field for unauthorized structures, draw up court cases, and, thereby, manage what is called the 'Building Branch'.
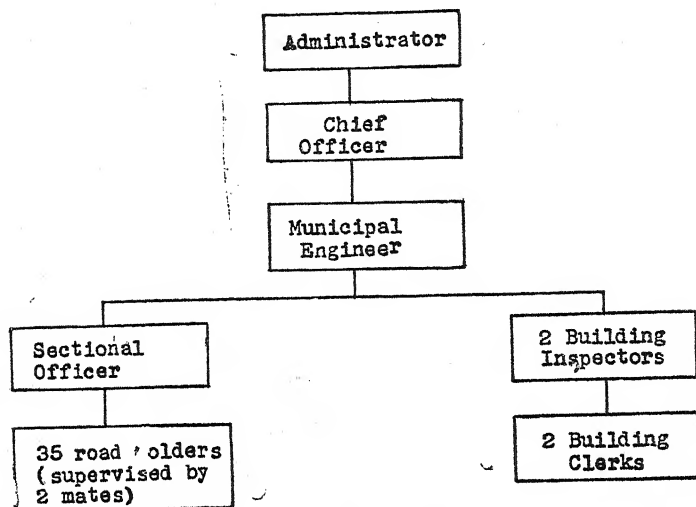

FIG.: ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF PLANNING/
ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

If the municipality has all along lacked the 'engineering' skills, its record on the 'planning' side has been no better. For, it never had any full-time planner or architect on its pay-rolls.

A major responsibility of the Building Branch (virtually run by the two-man team is: control of development in the municipal area of the town, *i.e.*, granting or refusing planning permissions for carrying out any material changes in the use of any building or land within the municipal boundaries. The provisions relating to the powers of the municipality in this respect are contained in the Haryana Municipal Act of 1973.

But, the world of rule-making (mechanics) in vastly diffe-rent from the world of their application (dynamics), and it is only through an understanding of the latter that a clearer view can be obtained of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of this core agency in charge of planning and development in the town. To get an idea of this, nothing would per-

haps be more instructive than to look at the typical sequence of actions and interactions of several people and parties (both within and without) when the municipal machine sets itself to work to apply these controls.

As it is happening in almost all urban areas in the country, there are numerous cases in this town, almost every week or month, when the planning permission has not been asked for and the owner of building or the developer of a certain piece of land has proceeded to affect changes in the building/land which are clearly at variance with the planning laws or the development scheme for that area, say, for example, the erection of a few small shops at the rear or face of his residence which cut right into the road boundaries. Once detected, such a violation becomes the subject of a brief report by the building inspector concerned who submits it to his immediate superior, the municipal engineer. After the report has been seen and signed by the latter, it then moves on to the Secretary of the municipality for the issue of a show-cause notice to the developer, asking him to stop the authorized construction immediately (Section 208 of the 1973 Act) and, further, to demolish it within a period of six days (Section 209).

Three things can happen here: *one*, the developer may comply with the municipal directive; *two*, he may go to the court of law and obtain a stay order (in a large majority of cases, the stay orders are granted); or, *three*, he may agree to compound his case by offering to pay 10-25 per cent of the total cost of the construction made so far (Section 205). If the developer chooses the third course of action—which is really not often the case—the municipal engineer then visits the site and sumbits his estimates for a decision by the higher municipal authorities.

However, as in most cases, a developer prefers to obtain a stay order, he is soon locked up in a legal battle with the municipality.

On an average, such a case drags on for over a year. An interesting part of the whole game is that while the case is in progress in the court, the illegal construction does not step. On the contrary, it has always been found to be speeded up by the developer, completed, and a tenant installed (who is

equally anxious, in these times of rising unemployment) before the hearings are over and the judgement delivered. By that time, however, the developer has already recovered a good part of his investment (by way of 'puggree' and high rent) from the tenant and then tries to marshall his political contacts or bribe his way through to stall demolition by the municipality.

When so many in the past have raised such unauthorized structures and also successfully averted their demolitions (despite the powers of the municipality on paper, and the judgements of the court), the news naturally goes around, and all those who have so far been just sitting on the fence also feel encouraged and jump into the fray.

There are several instances when the original builder sold his 'illegal' product at a staggering sum and made a handsome profit. There being no local press at Karnal, however, such goings—on do not get the attention in the media (as they do in a metropolitan city like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta or Madras),[4] the lucratic business of unauthorised construction continues to flourish.

Looking at the continuous outburst of unauthorised activity in several pockets of the municipal area, it is clear that planning has not lived up to the provisions of the Act (which the municipality is supposed to enforce) and one is left with the feeling as if all these demolition notices and prosecutions have been reduced to a mere farce.

An official also admitted that these court cases involve a substantial amount of litigation, putting an added unbearable burden on the exceedingly slender financial resources of the municipality.

But, there are several other organizational stresses as well which render application of these planning provisions difficult. For example, when the municipality is fully satisfied that a particular building or a part thereof is unfit for habitation by reason of disrepair or structural defects, and it feels compelled to demolish it (after due notice, etc.), the owner of the building (or the tenant in collusion with the

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[4]See, *The Statesman*, New Delhi, July 1983, for a news item on tax officials' raids on builders residential/business premises in Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta.

owner) promptly goes to the court accusing one or two members of the demolition squad of having stolen cash or other valuables from their premises, giving a new twist to the case and causing new complications for the staff. Fearful of being trapped by such false allegations and facing them in the court (even with the corporate support of the organization), most staff members exhibit disinterestedness in such assignments. Narrating his personal experience, the Secretary of the municipality refered to the veiled threats conveyed to him when he was about to go ahead with certain demolitions. There have also been times when some members of the demolition squad were beaten up, leaving a few with serious injuries. The issue of what was an appropriate compensation for the injured caused a bitter controversy between the management and the union. So, if left to themselves most members of the staff, involved in this work are strongly motivated *not* to participate in the demolition work.

Besides, the two building inspectors who do most of the work are poorly paid (Rs. 420-600) and have no promotional opportunities. The working conditions being what they are cripple whatever little motivation they might once had.

Failure of the municipality in this field has also been due in part to the near absence of effective provisions with respect to land-use planning in the 1973 Act. For example, the mass of rules spelt out in Section Nos. 201, 202, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209 and 210 of the said Act are largely negative in conception. These could prevent bad development but could not secure proper development.

Besides, there is hardly much scope for the municipality to launch any development activity on its own, unless the government acquires the requisite land and makes it available to the municipality. But even if there are some areas in which it has the option of acting on it own initiative, but here again it suffers from a very severe limitation, *i.e.*, that of chronic shortage of finance.

What accentuates the problems further is that for all developmental schemes of the municipality the Department of Local Government is the sanctioning authority. The town planning schemes sent to the headquarters invariably take a long time for approval. For example, one such scheme sent

to the headquarters in the year 1976 has yet to receive the approval.

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

When reference is made to the 'effectiveness' of an organization, there is fairly wide agreement amongst the management writers that the second most important factor—next to 'structure' or design of the organization—that determines its effectiveness is: the human resource utilization to achieve certain pre-conceived goals. In the context of the Karnal Municipal Committee, it means the quality of:

(a) the overall personnel system operating at the State level; and

(b) the state of personnel management within the municipality.

Perhaps a quick look at the past history of personnel administration in the Municipality/State should contribute to a better understanding of the existing system.

There was a time when the Karnal municipality was merely a Class II local body and a part of the town (the Civil Lines) was under the charge of a separate body, namely, Notified Area Committee. It recruited its own employees—'officers' as well as 'manual workers'. The field of recruitment was largely local and the contract of service for all the employees was with the municipality itself. But, that was quite some time before India became free.

In the early days of local government in composite Punjab in free India (when Haryana did not exist on the political map of India), the scene was dominated by the Punjab Civil Services Rules. However, when Haryana was created as a separate State out of Punjab in 1961, the Haryana Local Self-Government Department—the Department which looked after the affairs of the local bodies in the State then—stuck to these Punjab Civil Services Rules with certain amendments. It was only after a long interval of nearly 30 years that the Government of Haryana enacted its own legislation, entitled the *Haryana Municipal Services (Integration, Recruitment,*

and Conditions of Service) Rules, 1982. The new Rules came into effect on February 5, 1982.[5]

Another significant development that took place later that year (November 1982) was the creation of a new agency by the Government of Haryana to deal with all "references/ proposals relating to the local bodies in the State", including 'personnel' matters. The agency was named as: *Directorate of Local Bodies.*

The 'personnel' functions given to this agency included: Establishing operational personnel policies and procedures for areas, such as recruitment of municipal personnel in the State, their promotions, transfers, performance appraisal, leave, training, conduct, discipline, grievances, appeal, etc. Concentration of all these functions into it clearly showed that it was meant to play the role of a centralised control agency.

It may be noted however that it is not a recruiting agency, for the recuritment function, as such, has been handed over to two extra-administrative, independent organizations in the State: (1) the State Public Service Commission, and (2) the Services Selection Board.

After these introductory remarks, we may now turn to a brief consideration of the major reforms the new Rules were designed to bring about in the world of Haryana municipal services.

As is evident from the title of the Act, the new rules pivot around three basic elements:

1. Integration of municipal services
2. Their recruitment, and
3. Conditions of service.

INTEGRATION

Although the pre-1982 Rules also stressed 'integration' of

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[5]Section 15(3) of the Rules however state: "The Punjab Civil Services Rules, Volume I, II, and III and Punjab Financial Rules, Volume I and II, as amended from time to time and applicable to the State of Haryana, shall apply to the members of the Services constituted under these Rules so far as they are not inconsistent with the Provisions of the Act.

municipal personnel in the State but in their case this integration was limited only to the following four categories of personnel:

1. Chief Officers,
2. Secretaries,
3. Engineers, and
4. Health Officers.

A striking change which the 1982 Rules have injected into the system is that the net of integration has been widened to include six additional categories of the municipal personnel. These are:

1. Sectional Officers,
2. Superintendents (office),
3. Superintendents (Tax and Octroi),
4. Accountants,
5. Chief Sanitary Inspectors, and
6. Fire Station Officers.

Thus, the total number of categories of municipal staff which now stand covered by the present unification scheme is: ten. In other words, if the Punjab Rules permitted inter-municipality transfers of only four types of officials, the new Rules have put as many as ten catgeories under the transfer-control of the Directorate of Local Bodies, Chandigarh.

The 1982 Rules have also divided the municipal services in the State in two classes:

1. State level services, and
2. District level services.

The State level Services include:

1. Executive Officers,
2. Secretaries,
3. Health Officers,
4. Engineers,

5. Sectional Officers,
6. Superintendents (office),
7. Superintendents (Tax and Octroi),
8. Accountants,
9. Chief Sanitary Inspectors, and
10. Fire Station Officers.

The District level Services include:

(1) Assistant Surgeons, (2) Superintendents, waterworks/ Incharge, waterwork, (3) Vaidyas, (4) Agriculture Development Officer, (5) Naib Tehsildar, (6) Sanitary Superintendents, (7) Garden Supdtt., (8) Stock Verifier, (9) Inspectors (technical)/Building/Works/Encroachment Inspectors, (9) Dispensers, (10) Load Officers, (11) Superintendent, Fire Brigade, (12) Senior Librarian, (13) Project Officer, (14) Sub-Fire Officers, (15) Draftsman, (16) Revenue, (17) Stenographer senior scale, (18) Assistants including octroi Superintendents, Head Cashier, Assistant Accountants, (19) Light Inspectors, (20) Foremen, (21) Lady Health Visitors, (22) Inspectors (non-technical Grade I) including Sanitary Inspectors, Tax/Octroi/Vaccination/ Licence Inspectors, (23) Head clerks, (24) Drivers, (25) Garden Supervisors, (26) Sub-overseer, (27) Welders, (28) Leading Firemen, (29) Fire-Brigade Drivers, (30) Librarians, (31) Steno-typists, (32) Inspectors (non-technical) Grade II), (33) Cashiers, (34) Clerks including water meter readers, audit clerks, store-keepers, octroi moharrirs, (35) Patwaris, (36) Vaccination supervisors, (37) Vaccinators, (38) Tracers, (39) Electricians, (40) Head Mechanic water works, (41) Fitter for tractors, (42) Masons, (43) Works Head Mistri, (44) Mechanics, (45) Surveyors, (46) Road Roller Driver, (47) Pump Operators, (48) Tractor Drivers. (49) Line Mistries, (50) Social Education Workers, (51) Work Mistries, (52) Carpenters, (53) Plumbers, (54) Works Supervisors, (55) Firemen, (56) Oil Engine Drivers, (57) Hand Pump Mistris, (58) Head Mali, Head Chowkidars, Head Sweeper, (59) Dog Shooters, (60) Light Moharrirs, (61) Daftris, (62) Blacksmiths, (63) Trained Dais, (64) Peons, (66) Mates, Collies,

(67) Malis/Gardeners, and (68) Assistant Pump Operators.

Notwithstanding the classification of the municipal services in two broad categories, and Rules, however, make it clear that a member of the State or District level service shall be liable to serve at any place in the State or the district and that a member of the District level service can be transferred outside the district if it is considered expedient in the public interest.

<div align="center">RECRUITMENT</div>

The 1982 rules have also designed a new recruitment programme for the municipal personnel in the State and, thereby, mark the first step toward uniform recruitment policies. Consequent upon their inforcement, all municipal personnel drawing a basic salary of more than Rs. 700 p.m. are now being recruited through the State Public Service Commission, and those between Rs. 400 and Rs. 700 p.m. through the Service Selection Board. The posts which do not fall under these two categories are filled through the concerned Employment Exchange.

The Rules also contain provisions with regard to the method of recruitment of municipal personnel:

State Level Services

Only by direct recruitment... Serial No. 3 and 5 (pp. 190-91) Only by promotion on Seniority-cum-merit basis... Serial Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9 (p. 191)

50 per cent direct recruitment and 50 per cent by promotion... Serial Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 10 pp. 190-91)

District Level Services

Only direct recruitment... Serial Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 20, 22, 27, 28, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67 and 68... Pp. 191-92)

Only by promotion on seniority-cum-merit basis... Serial Nos. 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26, 29, 34, 59 and 62.

50 per cent by direct recruitment and 50 per cent by pro-

motion. . . Serial Nos. 16, 18, 23, 25, 30, 31, 32 and 48 (p. 191).

The new standards of recruitment include uniform qualifications for purposes of (a) direct recruitment, and (b) promotion on the basis of seniority-cum-merit for employees performing different tasks in the administrative professional, and clerical cadres. For example, the qualifications laid down for direct recruitment of an Executive Officer of a Class I municipality are:

Post-Graduate in any subject or Graduate in Law (preference to those with Diploma in Higher Officers' Course in the Local Government).

Similarly, in the District level Services, the qualifications for direct recruitment of an Inspector (Technical) are:

Three years' Diploma in Civil/Mechanical Engineering from any recognised institution.

Also imposed by the Rules are the minimum qualifications and experience for promotion of in-service employees to higher post. For instance, in the State level Services, to be considered for promotion to the post of an Executive Officer of a Class I municipality, an internal candidate should:

either be a Graduate and worked as Secretary in a Class I municipality for at least 5 years or as Executive Officer in a Class II municipality for at least five years.

Likewise, there are minimum qualifications/experience for promotion of internal candidates in the District level Service.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

Yet another notable characteristic of the 1982 Rules is that the payscale of the municipal employees—both in the State level and District level—have been regulated by certain uniform grading schemes, *i.e.*, all posts involving the same

kind of work in different classes of municipalities have been placed in particular grades. To illustrate:

State level Services

Executive Officers: Class I municipality: Rs. 900-40-1100-EB-50-1400-60-1700.

Secretaries: Class I municipality: Rs. 700-30-850/900-40-1100-EB-50-1250.

Superintendents (office) Class I municipality: Rs. 600-20-700-30-850/900-40-1100.

Sectional Officers: Class I/II Municipality: Rs. 700-30-850/900-40-1100-EB-50-1250 (Senior grade for 20% posts)

District level Services

Assistant Surgeons: Class I municipality: Rs. 900-40-1100-EB-50-1400-60-1700.

Building Inspectors: Rs. 400-10-490/540-15-600-EB -20-600

Clerks: Rs. 400-10-490/540-15-600-EB-20-660

Drivers: Rs. 420-10-490/525-15-660-EC-20-700.

As can be seen from the description above, the Government of Haryana can be stated to have taken the first step toward the creation of a professional municipal bureaucracy by providing—uniform conditions of recruitment, transfer, conditions of service. As a result of these changes there is now a single ladder of promotion for each category of employees. The earlier loophole of extensive favouritism and nepotism in the recruitment of personnel has been plugged to some extent. But, it needs hardly be pointed out that even the best intentions behind these Rules shall be defeated if these are not administered by men of independence, and integrity, particularly in the contemporary Indian conditions where politicians are greatly interested in 'administering' things, and officials in 'politics'.

'Personnel Management' within the Municipality

In any discussion of adequacy or effectiveness of 'personnel management' within an organization, perhaps the first and foremost phase that merits attention in a poor country like India is: Salary administration or the impact salary may

have on employees' motivation. It is well known that employees always make comparisons between what they get for their jobs in relation to what others in their own organization and those outside get for what they perceive to be the same type of work. No matter however carefully the State Government might have devised the pay-plan, it ultimately presented and introduced through the 1982 Rules, the fact of the matter is that there are misunderstandings, complaints and dissatisfactions with it within the Karnal municipality—perceived or real. For, officials at different levels of the hierarchy argued that the existing pay system somehow does not inspire the confidence of the employees in the structure of compensation it should normally do. Talking of the pay differentials within the municipality, first, a middle-level supervisor said:

Although I hold an Inspector's position and perform duties of a higher order, yet when it comes to salary matters, the current compensation policy brackets me with drivers Rs. 400-700.

Another expressed his dissatisfaction thus:

Can someone explain how a job which forms part of the 'management' group within this organization—that of the 'Secretary' to be specific—be paired with a middle-level supervisory position—that of the 'Sectional Officer' in the Engineering Department—a position which is lower and through which the management groups exercises control over the work behaviour of those still lower down the line' Yet this is precisely what has been done by putting them in the same payscale: Rs. 700-1250.

Differences in the payscales of some of the municipal officials and those of the functionaries in other governmental agencies in the town were also the subject-matter of critical comments:

1. An Office Superintendent in the municipality is paid a pitifully low salary of Rs. 600-1100 as compared to

the one granted to an Office Superintendent in the Deputy Commissioneer's Office (Rs. 1100-1500).

2. Forget for a moment the pay differential between these two government officials doing similar jobs, though in different situations. Just compare the starting salary of our Office Superintendent, (Rs. 600) with the princely basic of a Clerk in the Block Development Officer's unit, (Rs. 700) and you will know what I mean.

Research evidence has indicated that when employees begin to make such comparisons within their minds and view themselves as under-rewarded, their motivation is affected and can result in lower productivity.[6] And, on top of it, when the management makes no effort to correct these perceptions or differentials, an employee suffers from a feeling of inequity and may choose one or more of the following work-behaviours:

1. Distort either his own or others' inputs or outputs;
2. Behave in some way so as to induce others to his own inputs or outputs;
3. Behave in some way so as to change his own inputs or outputs;
4. Choose a different comparison referent;
5. Leave the field (quitting the job).[7]

It is rather difficult to pass a final judgement whether or not the complaints and discontentment expressed by the employees in this municipality with respect to the salary schedule now in force in the local bodies in Haryana are real or imaginary. It is a fairly complex issue and cannot be easily settled in the absence of information as to the (a) duties of a given job, (b) skills required, etc., and their systematic evaluation and comparison. Besides, the question here is not merely of

[6]Adams, J.S., "Inequity in Social Exchanges" in Leonard Berkowitz (ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Academic Press, New York, 1965, pp. 267-300

[7]Stephen R. Robbins, *Personnel: the Management of Human Resour-*

'raising' certain basic pay-rates but also of finding the right type of competent and committed people in the municipalities who deserve these raises. As one officials quipped:

> Equal pay for equal work—is all right as a principle. But, let us not overlook the fact that in a typical municipality today the pay-pocket is not the only money some municipal employees carry back home at the end of the month.

One of the first steps the Directorate of Local Bodies, Haryana, took to streamline personnel management in the local bodies in the State was to replace the traditional, and obsolete annual-confidential-report proforma with a new one. The old proforma was largely based on what has come to known in the personnel literature as 'trait-oriented' items, such as, intelligence of the employees, his loyalty, judgement, integrity, initiative, and so on. First of all, these items were so vague that they virtually told the evaluating officer nothing that could be understood and interpreted alike by others. Secondly, they suffered from several other pitfalls, such as, 'leniency error' (the evaluator having his own value system against which he tended to make his appraisals), the 'halo effect' (tendency to let the total assessment of an employee being influenced by the evaluation of a single trait), and others.

The Directorate, instead, produced a proforma which, in its view, combined the good points of the old design with what have come to be known as the 'behaviourally-oriented' items, popularized by MBO; these items attempt to measure definite, observable behaviour of municipal officials and eleminate the possibility of personal biases and idiosyncracies that were associated with the old type. For example, the annual confidential report-form in respect of the municipal executive officers/secretaries as in operation today includes items, such as:

1. Number of encroachment/unauthorised construction at the beginning of the year,
2. Number during the period under review,

3. Number of encroachments removed,
4. Amount of arrears (Octroi, House tax, etc.) at the beginning of the year,
5. Amount of arrears which fell due during the period under review, and
6. Arrears recovered.

In addition, there are items on 'Development works undertaken', 'Audit objections', etc.

Similarly, there are different proformas for different employees performing different jobs, such as, Engineers/Sectional officers: Medical officer/Assistant surgeon/Sanitary superintendents/Chief sanitary inspectors/Sanitary inspectors; Accounts officers/Accountants; Building inspectors/Encroachment inspectors/Light inspectors: Suprintendents/Assistants/Stenographers, and others.

But, no matter however well-conceived an innovation might be, the whole exercise can become futile if the reformers do not carefully think through all its ramifications and take the other necessary steps that must follow an innovation right up to the end-point. For instance, while an attempt was made to establish performance standards for different categories of municipal employees and new annual confidential report proforms designed, but no steps were taken to communicate the basic purpose and benefits of the change to the employees. The problems of 'communication' is a two-way traffic: it is not enough to transmit the information to the employee about the newly-adopted standards, it is equally important to ensure that the message has been understood and internalized by him. To put it in a nutshell, he must know what is expected of him.

The problem is further compounded by the reviewing officers' own attitude, towards this change, for I found no evidence of the 'actual' performance being compared with the 'standard' laid down nor that of giving a feedback to the employee by his superior if the performance had been low.

The result is that the said innovation, introduced by the Directorate of Local Bodies, is really speaking, still-born.

There is another simple way of testing the effectiveness of 'personnel management' system here by asking the question:

What are the major activities that go to make up a well-designed personnel system? Though the number of these activities may vary from one author to author on the subject, but there is general agreement on the following list:

1. Position classification,
2. Pay standardization,
3. Recruitment, Selection and Placement,
4. Training,
5. Promotion,
6. Working conditions, morale, award for suggestions,
7. Discipline,
8. Employer-employee relations (grievance procedures, unions and collective bargaining),
9. Retirement plans,
10. Development of sound records/forms and procedures, and
11. Personnel research.

Well, the first thing that needs to be said in this connection is that there is no well-rounded, comprehensive vision or planning of the personnel management system, as a whole. Though every individual who directs the work of others—from the Administrator down to the Head-Mali—is supposed to be performing 'personnel' function, but no such view pervades the entire organization here. There is no atmosphere of motivation of employees, practising human relations or providing leadership to the workforce. A statement like "personnel are the most precious resource of the organization", made by this writer in the presence of middle-level or senior officials largely went unregistered with them.

While a thorough and competent job of position classification, pay standardization, performance evaluation, promottional opportunities (or, in their absence, increased compensation without an increase in rank), etc., is still awaiting attention, no systematic plan exists to meet even the training needs of the employees effectively. There may be different views on the need for pre-entry training of municipal employees, even a well-planned system for the training of in-service employees is also missing. Final approval/control

in relation to State-wide training needs of such employees is centralized and rests with the Directorate of Local Bodies, or the Department of Local Government or Finance Department at Chandigarh. It is these agencies which must decide whether or not a certain official at Gurgaon, Faridabad or Panipat should be sponsored for training at IIPA or any other training institution. Many times, the approval from the Department to the Directorate and from the Directorate to the Municipality does not come in time, with the result that a good number of officials are deprived of the opportunity of availing themselves of specialized training.

As for discipline of the work-force, Inefficiency on the part of the employees cannot be penalized easily at the Municipality and, therefore, there is no enforcement of discipline-the-reason being that it is the Deputy Commissioner (and not the Administrator or Executive Officer of the municipality) who is the appointing authority for municipal staff from a peon to an inspector (for positions above that the powers are vested with the Directorate of Local Bodies). While the lack of any concerete punitive powers with the senior municipal staff has emboldened the errant employees, 'gentle persuasion' —as sometimes practised by them has made no dent in the problem so far.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the employees of the municipality are not satisfactorily oriented toward their jobs (that includes some of those in the management group as well). There is poor discipline, excessive grievances, low morale, and hence, low output.

As new Rules were introduced only recently, it is, therefore, exceedingly difficult at this stage to adduce proof to testify whether or not the Rules have yielded better results than the earlier Rules. However, on illustration of how some of these are beginning to prove irksome to some of the lower employees is provided by the case of one Vehicle Inspector whose brother was reported to be operating as many as 150 unauthorized hand-driven rickshaws in the town. So long he was the licencing authority for the rickshaws, his brother never bothered about their registration and the payment of the municipal taxes on them. However, when after the enforcement of the rules last year, the transfer orders of the

Vehicle Inspector arrived from the Headquarters, he was found to be very upset—for, the rumour had it that of the 150 unlicenced rickshaws he was the owner of 50 of them and a transfer from the town would have apparently hit his 'private business interests' adversly. Since he had political connections, he later managed to stall his transfer by pulling the right strings and continued to be well-entrenched in the municipality even later.

Enquiries made have also revealed that as regards the personnel policies and practices of the Directorate, the emphasis is more on 'control' functions rather than on 'positive personnel programmes', such as, human resource development within the local bodies.

FINANCIAL STANDING

As we have already seen, the effectiveness of this Municipality's two key sub-system, such as, "Planning and Development" and "Personnel Management" are in pretty bad shape. A look at yet another area—perhaps the most important problem-area—namely, 'finance' would also show that this, too, is no exception. Indeed, a senior official of the Municipality viewed with alarm the rather exceptional burdens it carries at present and is unlikely to shed them in the foreseeable future. He expressed his fears in the following words:

If the present trend continues, the time is not far when our income would just be enough to meet the salaries of the staff and other establishment obligations—and to do nothing else.

Firstly, it may be helpful to look at a comparative picture of both the 'revenues' and 'expenditures' during the past four years:

	1979-80	*1980-81*	*1981-82*	*1982-83*
Income	87,03,519	94,93,876	94,46,156	1,07,08,934
Expenditure	87,74,737	90,59,632	98,10,541	1,08,53,811

It can be seen from above that during the three out of

these four years, the 'expenditure' figures were greater than the 'income' figures. The difference, as per an official of the municipality, were met by the funds which become available through the State Government aid.'

Indebtedness

But, what really provides powerful support to the 'alarmist' view of the official is the problem of the municipality's indebtedness. As of today, the total outstanding debt is to the tune of Rs. 1.13 crores of rupees.

The story of the municipality's indebtedness goes back to the year 1953-54 when it borrowed from the LIC and the State Government large sums of money to undertake two major projects for the town:

1. Rs. 54 lakhs for providing water supply system; and,
2. Rs. 55 lakhs for the sewerage system.

Having neither the kind of skills/organization nor the equipment necessary for building the original works of this size and specialized nature, the municipality turned to—as the other municipalities in the States generally do—the Public Health Department (PHD) of the State Public Works Department (PWD) not only to build the two services for it but also to maintain them later. The PHD charged Rs. 54 lakhs and Rs. 60,27,00 for the construction of the water supply and sewerage system, and these were commissioned in the year 1953 and 1957 respectively. For maintenance of both the systems, the municipality has to pay Rs. 15 lakhs per annum (appox.) to the PWD.

Since then—despite regular small payments made to the Life Insurance Corporation of India, the State Government and the PHD (PWD)—the debt has continued to accummulate, partly as a result of the municipality's incapacity to pay and partly because of careless financial administration. It owes Rs. 77 lakh to the LIC and the State Government alone by way of the initial borrowings and the interest thereon. It needs another Rs. 51 Lakhs to get out of its debt troubles (arrears for maintenance only) with the PHD (PWD). Only a very generous grant from some source—nobody here knows

from where?—can save it from the financial disaster it appe-
ars to be heading for.

Sources of Income

The main sources of Income of the municipality are: House
Tax, Octroi, Water Rate, Rent of municipal shops and
buildings, tehbazari fees, and miscellaneous items like regis-
tration stamp duty fee, sale of land, licence fee, etc. The
breakdown of income for the past four years by individual
'Head of Account' (to go by the municipality's books) are as
follows:

Head of Account	*1979-80*	*1980-81*	*1981-82*	*1982-83*
1. House Tax	10,17,891	12,23,251	14,23,367	14,32,449
2. Octroi	43,61,890	49,77,554	54,04,511	59,72,525
3. Water fees	6,72,807	7,76,915	7,79,252	7,37,304
4. Rents	5,93,952	6,26,931	7,95,631	8,19,245
5. Tehbazari	1,07,958	1,27,552	1,52,847	1,32,133
6. Miscellaneous	19,99,121	17,61,673	9,90,548	16,15,278
	87,03,519	94,94,876	94,46,156	107,08,934

It is apparent that the municipality gets its major financial
support from 'Octroi' followed by 'Miscellaneous items, and
by 'House Tax'.

After a look at the 'revenue' side, it should be helpful to
know something about the character of the municipal expen-
diture:

Head of Account	*1979-80*	*1980-81*	*1981-82*	*1982-83*
1. Establishment	34,28,105	41,69,308	54,79,819	55,31,763
2. Contingencies	17,17,842	18,67,610	16,12,071	21,99,661
3. Original works	22,09,403	18,60,448	12,57,040	15,72,632
4. Liabilities	9,81,345	7,80,142	9,26,419	9,83,885
5. Miscellaneous	4,38,042	3,82,124	3,35,193	5,65,870
TOTAL	87,74,737	90,59,632	98,10,541	108,53,811

The figures clearly indicate a progressive yearly increase in

expenditure in the case of almost all the major items, with the 'establishment', of course, swallowing up nearly 50 per cent of the aggregate every year. The only exception however is the item 'Original Works' in whose case the yearly budgeted amount shows a decline over the years.

The 'totals' for all the four years appear to be moving forward every successive year, giving the overall impresion that the Municipality has been spending more on everything under its 'auspices' including 'maintenance' and 'development' of services in the town. The fact is that this 'movement' is deceptive. For, as the table below would show, when these totals are adjusted against the 'price changes' during the period, the expenditures have declined in real terms (excepting the year 1982-83).

Year	Expenditure at Current Price	Growth Rate	At Constant Price (1960-100)	Growth Rate
1979-80	87,74,734	—	27,76,815	—
1980-81	90,59,632	3.00	26,41,292	—5.00
1981-82	98,10 541	8.00	24,34,377	—8.00
1982-83	1,08,53,811	10.00	24,83,709	+2.00

Indeed, when an attempt is made to relate these totals to the population increases over these years, the investments in real terms, plummet further.

Normally, such a thing should not happen. For a town like Karnal, with an ever-increasing population and the accompanying pressures on its already impoverished services, should be spending considerably more money every year to at least maintain the 'status quo' (if not improve upon) the quantity and quality of these services to the community. The figures above indicate a disturbing trend.

Several explanations are offered to make clear this disability of the municipality. Amongst the more important are:

Ever-weakening Tax Base of the Municipality

To give an example, Municipality used a collect, some year back, a large amount of money through levy of octroi on

agricultural produce brought into the town @ one paise per quintal but the levy was taken away from it and handed to the Town Market Committee. As a senior official put it: "We have still not stopped feeling the injustice done to the municipality. While the Market Committee is today flooded with money and does not know what to do with it, we here appear to be gradually sinking'.

Unscientific ways of Raising municipal Revenues

The municipality does not seem to be making use of its privilege to tax in a judicious manner either. For instance, while goods like electric bulbs, switches, wires, cables and other related articles (that'd pass for 'necessities of life in modern times' and also used partially by weaker sections) are charged octroi at a substantially high rate of Rs. 5.60 plus 100 per cent surcharge by weight per quintal, the luxury goods, such as televisional apparatus and things needed by well-to-do sections of the society (surgical/dentistry instruments, etc.) are allowed in at the surprisingly low rate of only two paise plus 100 per cent surcharge at advalorem.

Tremendous Losses in Utilities' Operations

Municipal ownership of the two major utilities, namely, the water supply and the sewerage disposal, is yet another problem that has let it to financial difficulties ever since their inception. What to speak of running at least the water system at a profit and, thereby, supporting other municipal services, the municipality's water revenues have always been far less than its maintenance costs paid to the PHD of the State PWD every year (Rs. 15 lakhs). Its income in the form of water fee during the last four years, however, has been as follows:

1979-80	:	Rs. 6,72,806
1980-81	:	Rs. 7,76,916
1981-82	:	Rs. 7,79,252
1982-83	:	Rs. 7,37,304

In the entire municipal area there are only about 9,000

water connections. The municipality is running into arears for the payment of both the 'construction costs' (12 lakhs) and the 'maintenance costs' (35 lakhs) to the PHD Department.

Its record with respect to the second main utility, *i.e.*, the sewerage system has been no better. Its total income from this source every year has been in the region of only Rs. 31,000, as against the maintenance costs of Rs. 6 lakh it has to pay to the Public Health Department. Only 1,000 sewerage connections have been taken by the residents so far (during the 30—plus years of the operation of the scheme) and even a State Government incentive scheme to motivate residents to take more sewerage connections has not yielded the desired results.

Property management problems

The municipality owns property in the shape of 365 shops in different parts of the town and has been using them for a profit in the form of monthly rent which comes to about Rs. 9 lakhs per annum. According to a senior official, however, a well-managed property philosophy has somehow eluded the municipality so far, because in his view, if it ever decided in favour of outright auction of all of them, the massive amount it'd mop up and the interest the amount would earn on fixed deposit basis shall be of great help in meeting with its debt claims or launching new development schemes. 'No one here, however, seems to apply his mind to this respect', he lamented.

Property tax collections

There has also been the failure all these decades of keeping pace with the increasing number of properties awaiting valuations at the right time. The assessment staff is not only unqualified and cannot always efficiently arrive at satisfactory valuations of the said properties but are also rumoured to frequently come under political/personal influences to give away concessions or turn a blind eye, much to the peril of municipal fiscal health.

Mandatory expenditure

Never-ending increase in the 'mandatory expenditure', such

as, the annual increments earned by the employees and payment of increased DA, etc., announced by the State Government, from time to time, has been yet another factor for poor financial standing of the Municipality.

Duality of Water-Supply and Its Administration

In the Model Town, an important locality in Karnal, inhabited by middle and upper-middle families, the water supply is under the control of the State Rehabilitation Department and its monthly charges are only Rs. 4 p.m. per household (as against municipal charges of Rs. 8 for the first four taps and Rs. 2 for every additional tap), irrespective of the quantity of water consumed. The municipality's repeated attempts in the past to take it over with a view to unifying the two water rates in the town and to increase its income has however not been responded by the Rehabilitation Department.

Concern for 'Economy'

Last but not least, the possibility of economies in the municipal expenditure and increased efficiency of the organization have never been thoroughly explored.

The grants-in-aid from the State Government have chiefly been for developmental projects, such as, water supply, sewerage expansion, slum improvement, cleanliness. The amount ranges from Rs. 1-3 lakhs a year. The Central Government aid has been limited to things like a swimming pool (in the past) and a working women's hostel (this year).

The Budget for the year 1983-84 is given on page 208.

Management Structure

The most important position in the Finance Department of the municipality is that of the Accountant. But, the person occupying it and handling presently an annual budget of over a crore of rupees is only a Matriculate. He is supported by an Assistant Accountant and three clerks who are also matriculates. How far the qualifications or competence of these officials can inspire and maintain confidence in the effective fiscal management or bringing about any innovations can better be imgined than described.

BUDGET: 198-384

Estimated Income		Estimated Expenditure	
1. House Tax	20,00,000	1. Establishment	55,26,000
2. Octroi	70,00,000	2. New Roads	5,00,000
3. Toll Tax	2,50,000	3. Contingencies	7,65.000
4. Misc. Unclassified	4,00,000	4. Paving Streets	5,00,000
5. Licence fee on		5. Maintenance of	
dangerous offensives	1,00,000	Streets	3,00,000
6. 2% Registration fee		6. Drainage	5,00,000
on stamp duty	3,00,000	7. Rented shops	3,00,000
7. Rents of munici-		8. Lighting	16,50,300
pal shops	9,50,000	9. Water Supply pipe	
8. Water fees	10,00,000	lines	2,00,000
9. Tehbazari fees	2,00,000	10. Repayment of loans	
10. Copying fees	2,00,000	of water supply	4,00,000
11. Income from		11. Rapayment of loans	
compost	75,000	on Sewerage	6,00,000
12. Show Tax	75,000	12. Parks original	
13. Licence fee from		works	1,00,000
Vehicle and Rickshaw	70,000	13. Library (Swimming	
14. Licence fee from		Pool)	50,000
Pure Food	60,000	14. Const. of colony	
15. Slaughter House	40,000	for weaker section	1,00,000
16. Miscellaneous		15. Miscellaneous Exp.	12,97,000
Sewerage fees	50,000		
17. Miscellaneous			
income	4,70,000		
TOTAL	1,33,40,000		1,27,89,000

Performing another important function in the Unit is the 'Internal Auditor' without whose clearance payment cannot be made by the Accountant/Cashier. It is his duty to screen every bill carefully from the point of view of legality and propriety. Yet, it has been learnt that when the official State audit of the municipal internal audit is carried out at the end of the financial year, several strictures are passed for leniency shown to contractors of 'shady' reputation and harshness to those who are scrupulous in their dealings.

Incidentally, the Internal Auditor and the three members his support-staff are on deputation from the State Finance Department and cost the municipality some 40,000 rupees annually by way of salaries, etc.

CONCLUSION

The description above provides us a persuasive illustration of an administrative machinery which is not only chronically short of 'operating money' but also lacking in 'management skills'. Indeed, these deficiencies should not be seen as those belonging merely to 'local body' but rather as reflecting those of the 'town' itself and its ability to deal effectively with critical problems of 'integrated development' it must face in the years to come.
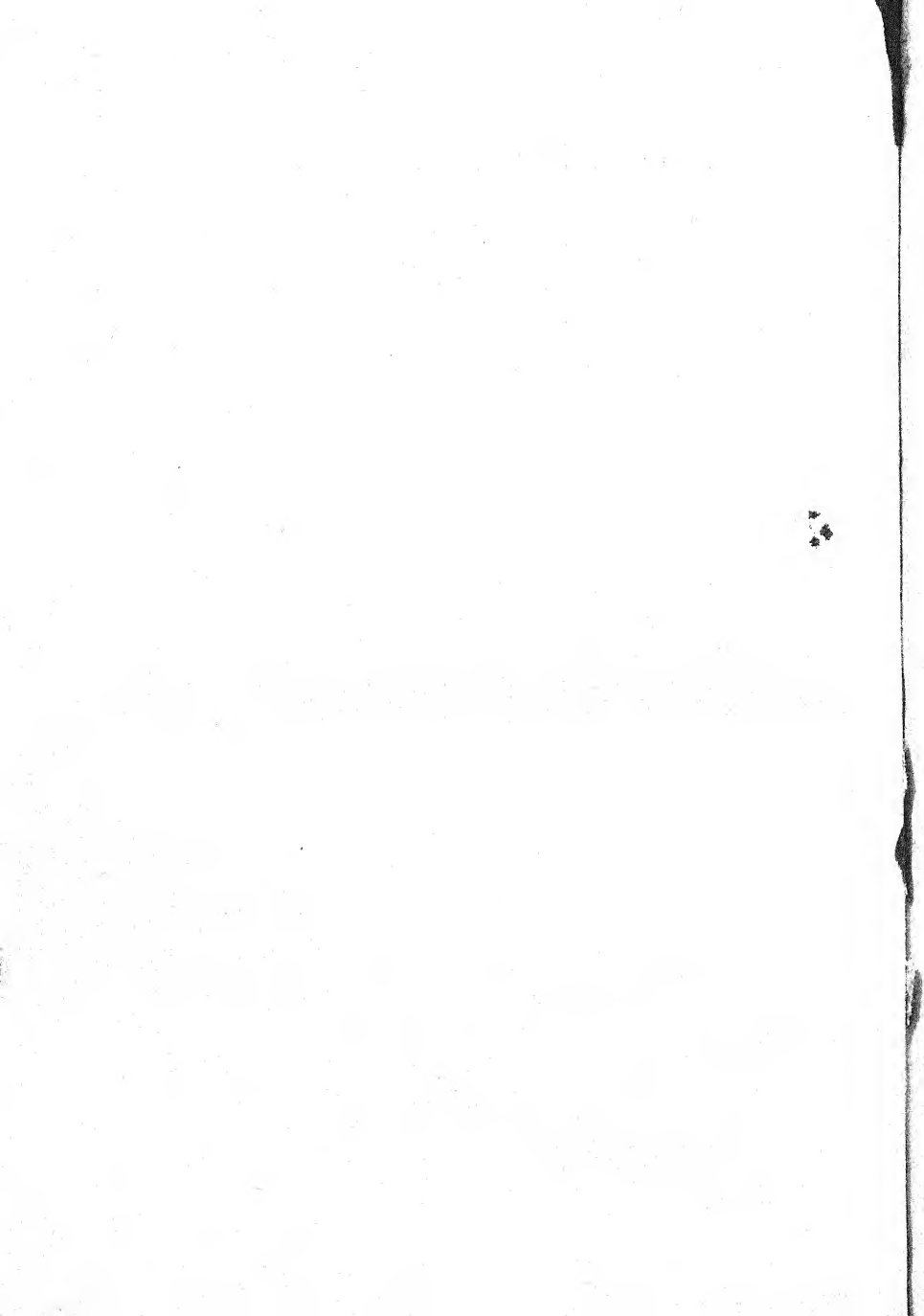
APPENDICES
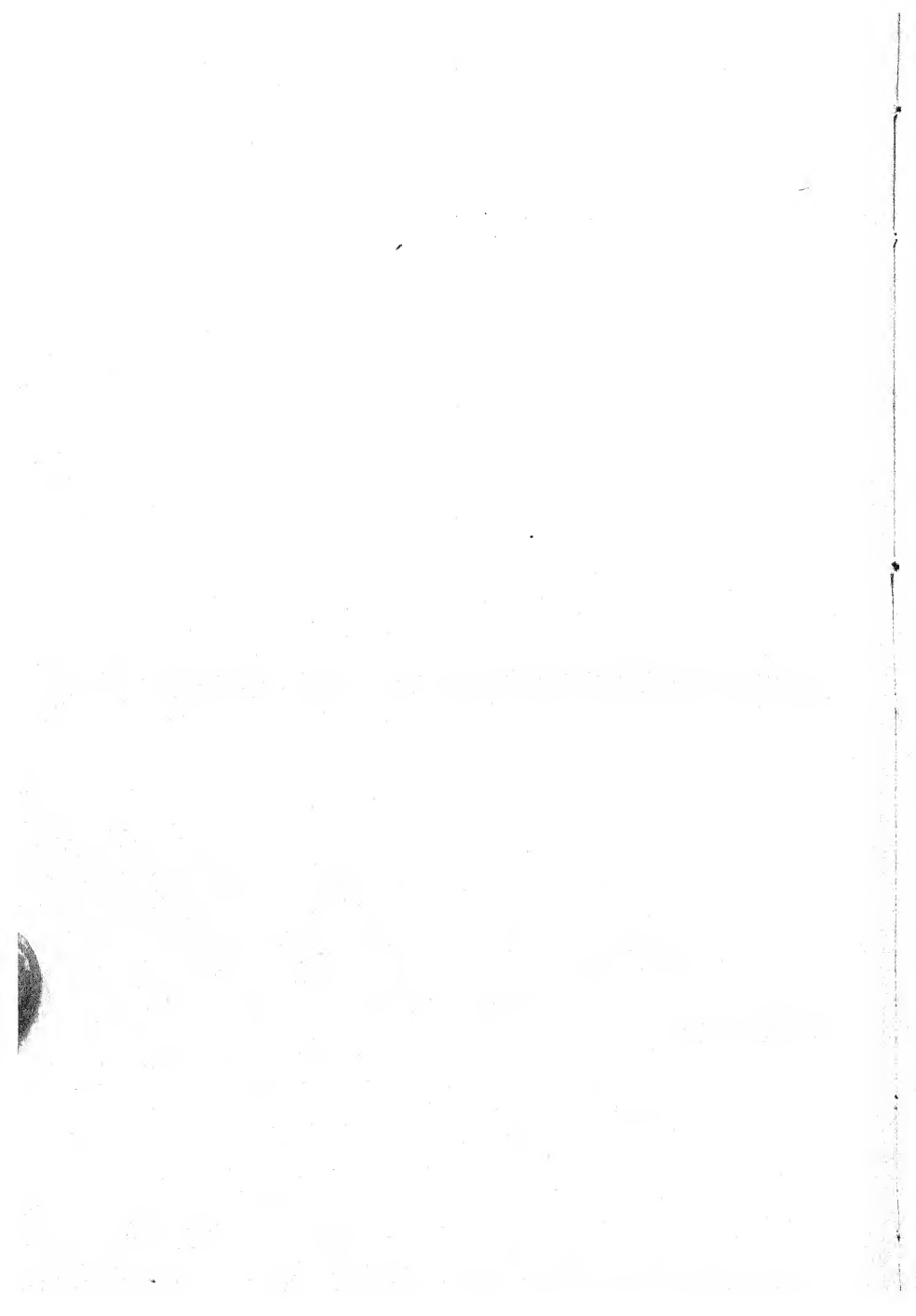
CENTRALLY SPONSORED SCHEME FOR INTEG-
RATED DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL AND
MEDIUM TOWNS—GUIDELINES*

The Draft Plan 1978-83 lays emphasis on increasing the
rate of growth of small and medium towns so as to enable
them to act as growth and service centres for the rural hinter-
land and to reduce the rate of migration to metropolitan
cities. It is proposed to do this by increased investments on
the provision of infrastructure and other essential facilities.
For proper development of these towns, it is necessary that
an integrated development progromme of each town is drawn
up keeping in view its locational importance and linkages in
the region. With this purpose in view, the Centrally sponsored
scheme for the development of small and medium towns has
been introduced. It seeks to provide central loan assistance
for selected items of development to the State Governments/
Union Territories on a matching basis so as to serve the
integrated development of selected small and medium towns
during this plan period.

COVERAGE

This Centrally sponored scheme for integrated development
would cover small and medium towns with a population of
1 lakh and below, on the basis of 1971 census. In selecting
the towns for support, preference would be given to District
headquarter towns followed by sub-divisional towns, mandi
towns, and other important growth centres. The district
towns or sub-divisional towns, etc., selected for priority deve-
lopment should be such as will check the migration of rural
population to the large cities and would perform the role of
services and market centres to the rural hinterland in the

*Government of India, Ministry of Works & Housing.

context of the balanced development of the whole district and the region. Since it is not possible to cover all the towns conforming to the population criteria during this plan period, the selection of the town has to be done carefully with reference to the rate of growth of population, the growth of the district and the region and the investment taking place in the hinterland. Another important factor would be the linkage of employment generation with urban development and the capacity of the institutions responsible for urban development.

COMPONENTS

The project document prepared for the integrated development of the identified towns should include components for which the Central assistance would be available on a matching basis and also those components for which funds would be met from the provision in the State plans. Both types of components are indicated below:

(a) *Components eligible for Central assistance on matching basis*:

  (i) Land acquisition and development, residential schemes will include sites and services with or without core housing.

  (ii) Traffic and transportation to subserve the shelter and employment projects will include construction of roads and improvement/upgradation of existing roads but will not include purchase of motor vehicles.

  (iii) Development of mandis/markets, provision of industrial estates, provision of other service and processing facilities for the benefit of agricultural and rural development in the hinterland.

  (iv) Construction of slaughter houses.

  (v) Low cost latrines (Central assistance of Rs. 15 lakh per town to be made available provided States/Union Territories contribute Rs. 12 lakh per town).

(b) *Components, for which funds are to be found from State Plans, but which must form part of the Integrated Scheme:*

  (vi) Slum improvement/upgradation, urban renewal and small scale employment generation activity.
  (vii) Low cost schemes of water supply, sewerage, drainage and sanitation.
 (viii) Preventive medical facilities/health care.
  (ix) Parks and playgrounds.
  (x) Assistance for the purpose of making modifications, wherever necessary, in city master plans to permit mixed land use.

STANDARDS OR NORMS

Because of the limited resources available in every one of these components, there should be an intensive effort to lower the standards so as to maximise coverage. The standards should also relate to the size of the urban settlement, nature of services to be provided and population trends, and should be capable of being incrementally built up as the resource position improves and paying capacity of the beneficiaries increases.

  (i) Water supply, where the existing norm of 40-60 gallons per head day should be reduced to 15-20 gallons.
  (ii) Health service, where expensive plans should give way to simple preventive medicine and environmentally hygiene programmes.
  (iii) Housing, where the bulk of the money should go into site and services projects, for the predominantly lower income categories.

PLANNING, IMPLEMENTATION AND CO-ORDINATION

The State Government should identify the agency/agencies to prepare and implement the programme. The work may be co-ordinated by the departments of the State Government

or the State level agencies like the State Town Planning Departments, Housing Board, Slum Improvement Board, P.W.D. The local bodies of the town should be encouraged and assisted to participate in the preparation and implementation of the Integrated programme. Institutional arrangements for project formulation, execution and monitoring should be well defined and established so that the funds are properly utilised and create a significant impact on the living and physical conditions of the selected towns.

The organisational set-up of the local implementing agencies particularly their administrative and financial wings should he adequately strengthened and their procedure streamlined for efficient implementation of the programme. In particular, the implementing agencies should have adequate powers delegated to them for sanction of estimates and for prompt implementation of the programme by eliminating procedural delays.

An effective machinery for coordination, monitoring and evaluation of the programmes should be set up by the State Government at the town level under the Collector and at the State level preferably under the Chief Secretary or Development Commissioner. The machinery at the State level should be responsible for the formulation of the plan frame, to give general policy direction, review the progress regularly and generally take all steps including timely flow of funds and other resources for the implementation of the programme according to schedule.

The State Government should arrange to ensure proper maintenance of the infrastructure and other facilities created. Adequate provision in the budget of the agencies responsible for maintenance will have to be made annually.

BUDGETARY ARRANGEMENTS AND CENTRAL ASSISTANCE

Central assistance will be provided in the form of loan to the extent of 50 per cent of the cost of the projects in suitable instalments for the items mentioned in para 3(a) provided matching assistance is made by the State Government and/or implementing agency. Total financial provision including

Centre's share for the programme should find a place in the budget of the implementing agencies and the State Government. What is crucial here is that a capital budget for specific urban development programmes in a State should be prepared to pool all the sectoral funds available for expenditure in the approved urban plan, year by year. The funds provided for the various components of the approved project should not be diverted to other schemes.

The State Government should ensure and certify that the Central assistance claimed from the scheme of integrated development is for those components for which assistance has not been claimed from any other central source including public undertaking. The State Government should forward to the Central Government every half year (as on 31st March and 30th September) progress statements in physical and financial terms and containing a report on the targets and achievements for each component of the programme and indicating the further central assistance required. The next instalment will ordinarily be released after the receipt of certificate from the State Government regarding the utilisation of previous instalment in the enclosed form and after appraisal of the physical progress achieved during the period under review.

Central financial assistance will be given to the State Governments as loan and they will be responsible for proper utilisation of the assistance on the sanctioned programmes and for timely repayment of interest and principal. The loan will carry a rate of interest of 5.5 per cent as revised from time to time by the Government of India subject to a rebate of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for timely payment of principal and interest. It would be repayable in 25 years including a moratorium of five years. The Central assistance should be passed on to the implementing agencies on the same terms as are applicable to the Central loan. The State Government matching contribution should be passed on to the implementing agencies in the form of a loan or grant according to the standard terms. On the basis of the approved schemes received from the State Government in time and the progress of ongoing schemes, the Central Government would indicate the likely allocation of assistance in each annual plan.

The release of financial assistance for individual programme will be made on the basis of receipt of satisfactory reports on physical achievements according to the target fixed and utilisation certificates of funds from the concerned departments countersigned by the Finance Secretary of the State. The penultimate instalment for the relevant financial year will be released for a particular project, only on receipt of utilisation certificate issued by the Accountant General for the completed accounts relating to the previous financial year.

<div align="center">CONDITIONS OF ASSISTANCE</div>

The following further conditions will apply for Central assistance.

The State Government should have an integrated plan for the development of town preferably based on long term Master Plan/Development Plan.

The State Government may consider passing a comprehensive town and country planning act providing for preparation and statutory approval of the Master Plan and land use control.

The financial assistance is conditioned on the ability of the agencies to maintain assets and facilities created and their ability to repay the loans. This will require a detailed financial and institutional plan for municipal finances and its adoption and implementation in phases and for adequate mobilisation of local resources.

In view of the fact that proper formulation, execution and monitoring of the schemes under this programme require properly trained municipal personnel, it is necessary to equip the staff employed in the implementing agencies and the municipalities with adequate training and expertise. The State Government should undertake to get the concerned planning and executing staff of the local bodies trained in the regional centre of training in municipal administration under this ministry or in any other suitable training organisation before the project is sanctioned by the Government of India.

An appropriate urban land policy should be followed by the State Governments to provide for the mopping up of

unearned income accruing to private parties as a result of the development programmes and generally to tap the resources potential of valuable urban land.

Separate accounts should be maintained by each executing agency in respect of the components of the programme entrusted to it for implementation. The accounts should indicate the return also in respect of land acquisition and development projects and other remunerative schemes.

If, for any reason, any specific project forming part of the integrated scheme of small and medium towns is not completed during the period of availability of funds from the Government of India under the scheme, the State Government should undertake to complete the projects by making provision for funds from the State budget.

Periodical inspection of the projects sanctioned would be undertaken by officers of the Government of India.

PATTERN OF FINANCING

The projects would be primarily financed by the internal resources of the implementing authorities and the resources provided by the State Governments. The Central assistance is intended only to supplement and strengthen the resources of the implementing agencies and those provided by the State Government. The State Government should promptly pass on the Central assistance preferably within a month on the same terms and conditions to the implementing agencies. They should also create a suitable budgetary head with a token provision wherever necessary.

PROJECT REPORT

A project report for each town should be prepared and 3 copies of the report should be forwarded to the Ministry of Works and Housing, Government of India. It should contain the following chapter:

(i) An introduction to the town containing relevant information such as its location, size, population growth rate, employment and income of the population, exist-

ing functions and its role in relation to the region, State or national economy supported by statistical tables. For this purpose information should be furnished in the questionnaire attached. Last 2-3 years abridged budgets of the local bodies operating in the town indicating the main heads of receipts and expenditure.

(*ii*) Existing shortages in services and facilities and the norms of standards adopted to measure the shortages. Justification for the norms adopted should be given.

(*iii*) The detailed programme should show its components, basis for the selection of the components, the period covered by the programme and its annual phasing. The programme components could include permissible and essential items like technical assistance and physical and price contingencies.

(*iv*) An estimate of resources (total and annual) required for each component, the basis and justification for the estimates and the proposed sources of the funds such as State budgets, Central assistance, resources of the implementing agencies, institutional borrowings, etc. The estimates should indicate the unit costs (*e.g.*, land acquisition rate per hectare) where relevant, information, on the extent of mobilisation of the local resources should, in particular be given showing the collections on the basis of existing rates and taxes, and proposals for their enhancement as well as new levies. A summary of the Project cost should be prepared in the proforma attached to these guidelines.

(*v*) Implementing agencies for each component of the programme, their constitution, functions and the capability for implementation and measures for strengthening their capability and for streamlining their procedures of work.

(*vi*) Agencies for proper maintenance and operation of the assets and facilities created, estimates of expenditure for maintenance and operation and how the expenditure is proposed to be met.

(*vii*) Machinery for co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation at the local and state levels and their function

and responsibilities.

(*viii*) The benefits expected from the programme and how it would further the objectives set out in paragraph 2 ante.

(*ix*) Site plans showing location at all the projects including components not covered under the central assistance but forming part of overall development of the town and its periphery. The specimen form of town map for Amritsar is attached (page 48). A similar map for the district town should be furnished with the Project Report. In addition to this map, detailed layout plans of the Project is to be assisted should also be furnished.

LIST OF SMALL AND MEDIUM TOWNS COVERED
UNDER THE IDSMT SCHEME
(AS ON MARCH 31, 1985)

STATES

ANDHRA PRADESH (18)
1. Ramachandrapuram
2. Tenali
3. Anakapalli
4. Vijaynagaram
5. Bhimavaram
6. Karim Nagar
7. Tirupathi
8. Srikakulam
9. Medak
10. Guntakal
11. Chittor
12. Gadwal
13. Nandyal
14. Proddatur
15. Mehbubnagar
16. Bhimunipatnam
17. Zahirabad
18. Siddipet

ASSAM (5)
19. Tinsukhia
20. Silchar
21. Tejpur
22. Jorhat
23. Dibrugarh

BIHAR (15)
24. Hajipur
25. Gopalganj
26. Saharsa
27. Daltenganj
28. Chapra
29. Dumka
30. Chaibasa
31. Begusarai
32. Deoghar
33. Arrah
34. Hazaribagh
35. Bettiah
36. Giridih
37. Dhanbad
38. Katihar

GUJARAT (17)
39. Anand
40. Patan North
41. Porbandar
42. Valsad
43. Varaval Patan
44. Palanpur
45. Ankleshwar
46. Dhod
47. Mehmadabad
48. Godhra
49. Bhuj
50. Amreli
51. Mehsana
52. Khambhatt
53. Kalol Saij

54. Sanand
55. Dehgam

HARYANA (6)
 56. Narnaul
 57. Sirsa
 58. Sohna
 59. Karnal
 60. Kurukshetra
 61. Hissar

HIMACHAL PRADESH (1)
 62. Simla

JAMMU & KASHMIR (1)
 63. Anant Nag

KARNATAKA (16)
 64. Hassan
 65. Chitradurga
 66. Tumkur
 67. Raichur
 68. Hospet
 69. Channapatna
 70. Kanakpura
 71. Magadi
 72. Humnadbad
 73. Holenarsipur
 74. Sagar
 75. Sahapur
 76. Jamkhandi
 77. Kushal Nagar
 78. Ranibennur
 79. Karakala

KERALA (9)
 80. Guruvayoor
 81. Kottayam
 82. Trichur
 83. Kayamkulam

84. Tellicherri
85. Tirur
86. Chengancherri
87. Badagara
88. Mallapuram

MADHYA PRADESH (16)
 89. Bilaspur
 90. Khajuraho
 91. Dewas
 92. Itarsi
 93. Rewa
 94. Katni
 95. Burhanpur
 96. Morena
 97. Dongargarh
 98. Rajnandgaon
 99. Balaghat
100. Chindwara
101. Harda
102. Waidhan
103. Guna
104. Sidhi

MAHARASHTRA (22)
105. Manmad
106. Barsi
107. Parlivaijnath
108. Yeotmal
109. Satara
110. Ratnagiri
111. Katol
112. Amalner
113. Parbhani
114. Kamptee
115. Kinwat
116. Osmanabad
117. Morshi
118. Hinganghat
119. Jalna

120. Ambejogai
121. Selu
122. Digras
123. Bhandara
124. Washim
125. Islampur
126. Baramati

MANIPUR (2)
127. Chandel
128. Kakching

MEGHALAYA (2)
129. Shillong
130. Tura

NAGALAND (1)
131. Kohima

ORISSA (6)
132. Puri
133. Sambalpur
134. Balasore
135. Rourkela
136. Jeypre
137. Dhenkanal

PUNJAB (8)
138. Pathankot
139. Hoshiarpur
140. Sangrur
141. Moga
142. Phagwara
143. Khanna
144. Bhatinda
145. Batala

RAJASTHAN (11)
146. Pali
147. Baran

148. Bhilwara
149. Sikar
150. Churu
151. Sumerpur
152. Nathdwara
153. Barmer
154. Ganganagar
155. Jaisalmer
156. Chittorgarh

SIKKIM (1)
157. Jortheng

TAMIL NADU (28)
158. Ootacammund
159. Karur
160. Dharamapuri
161. Pudukottai
162. Tiruchangodu
163. Palni
164. Gobbi Chettipalayam
165. Mannargudi
166. Dharampuram
167. Mettupalayam
168. Chengalpattu
169. Coonoor
170. Attur
171. Tiruvanamalai
172. Udamalpet
173. Nammakkal
174. Kovilpatti
175. Hosur
176. Pollachi
177. Teni-Allinagaram
178. Nagapattinam
179. Ranipet-Wallazapet Arcot
180. Panruti
181. Karaikudi
182. Kallakurichi

183. Arni
184. Arakkonam
185. Shivganga

TRIPURA (2)
186. Udaipur
187. Kalashahar

UTTAR PRADESH (23)
188. Jaunpur
189. Fatehpur
190. Azamgarh
191. Hathras
192. Banda
193. Barabanki
194. Raibareli
195. Almora
196. Etah
197. Balia
198. Mahoba
199. Kasganj
200. Gajipur
201. Sitapur
202. Mainpuri
203. Hardoi
204. Bijnor
205. Orai
206. Deoria
207. Badaun
208. Amethi
209. Kashipur
210. Padrauna

WEST BENGAL (20)
211. Kharagpur
212. Midnapore
213. Bankura

214. Kalimpong
215. Coochbehar
216. Purulia
217. English bazar
218. Krishna Nagar
219. Suri
220. Tarkeshwar
221. Jalpaiguri
222. Siliguri
223. Darjeeling
224. Berhampur
225. Ballarghat
226. Bishnupur
227. Basirhat
228. Raiganj
229. Ranaghat
230. Katwa

UNION TERRITORIES

ANDAMAN & NICOBAR
ISLAND (1)
231. Port Blair

DADRA & NAGAR
HAVELI (1)
232. Silvasa

GOA, DAMAN & DIU (1)
233. Panaji

MIZORAM (1)
234. Aizawl

PONDICHERRY (1)
235. Karaikal

COPY OF D.O. LETTER NO. 8DP-83/7370-30 DATED 17th MAY, 1983 FROM THE CHIEF MINISTER, HARYANA ADDRESSED TO ALL THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS IN HARYANA

Subject: **Unauthorised Construction**

My Dear,

During the course of my visits to different places I have generally observed that sub-standard and haphazard growth is coming up along the important roads and scheduled roads/ bye-passes within and outside the municipal areas of the different towns through out the State. It not only affects the beauty of the town but also create traffic hazards. Since construction activities in the municipal areas are being controlled by you as controlling officer of the Municipal Committee, I would like you to look into this important matter personally and ensure that no unauthorised construction come up along the scheduled roads and bye-passes.

I would also like that as and when the field officers of the Town and Country Planning Department require the police help for taking necessary action against the offenders who violate the Punjab Scheduled Roads and Controlled Areas Restriction of Unregulated Development Act 1963 and the rules framed thereunder it should be provided to them in time."